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September 8, 1941

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Editorial

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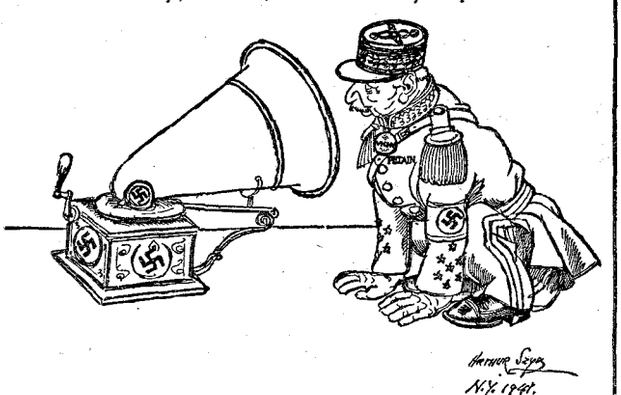
Edouard Herriot, former Premier and for thirty-five years Mayor of Lyons, voices the true feelings and emotions of the French people. We cannot reveal how M. Herriot managed to get his article "The Real France Speaks" out of France and into the hands of the Mercury. He is the only French leader still in France who has dared to express on the printed page the thoughts of his people. It is a tremendously courageous article, significantly vibrant with love for America, England, and the way of life that is now snuffed out in France. It has a purpose. It is a message to the American people, directed to the leaders of American thought. We believe it will create a stir in this country, France, and Germany.



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Arthur Szyk (pronounced Shick), the famous Polish miniature painter, has turned to cartoons as a war duty. His searching, bitter, hard-hitting sketches are becoming the talk in cultured America. Several notable Szyk cartoons drawn exclusively for The American Mercury, will appear in each issue, beginning with September.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Two Speeches

President Roosevelt's Labor Day speech from his library in Hyde Park was, like most of his fireside talks, suave, reasonable and true. That our liberties are interdependent, that they were established by fighting, preserved by fighting and may have to be fought for again, that Hitler is their implacable enemy and there is no possibility of compromise with him without betrayal of principles, that we can be more sure of success if he is defeated before we have to fight alone, and therefore every possible effort must now be made—these statements cannot be reasonably denied. Yet the speech failed to strike fire. The main interest in it was to see how far he would go toward active belligerency. The fact that he went in that direction was news; the fact that he stopped short of the goal was anti-climax.

Winston Churchill is rapidly winning the American ear away from Mr. Roosevelt. He talks more like a man who means what he says—means it with all his heart and soul. His radio speech eight days before that of Mr. Roosevelt was dramatic, not with the drama of the library or the fireside, but with that of the wide oceans and continents ravaged by fire and sword. His apostrophe to the long list of conquered peoples, bidding them courage, was Homeric. There was a touch of Milton in his marshaling of angels on one side and devils on the other. His sense of fate and salvation, of courage in suffering, reminds us of Dante.

Mr. Roosevelt suffers from the frustration of restraint by what he believes is popular unreadiness. He talks as if he meant to go on persuading for a long time. Meanwhile, for lack of action on the scale demanded, his words become less persuasive.

Hitler and Mussolini, Copycats

Axis stock has gone down in recent months and that of the democracies has risen. Excellent proof of this is shown in the worldwide reception given to the conference between Hitler and Mussolini. A year or two ago all humanity waited anxiously for the results when the two dictators met. Now it is obvious that their conference was only an attempt to imitate, and thereby take the edge off, the Churchill-Roosevelt meeting. Der Führer and Il Duce have no surprises any more; they have shot their bolt. In all countries the conviction is steadily growing that the dictators are far less formidable than they seemed even a short time ago.

Appeasement Goes On

Feeling against the Vichy Misgovernment seems to be rising in France. One must always remember the possibility that the appearance of resistance may be a sham, carried out by the Germans and their French jackals like Pétain for the purpose of justifying a reign of terror; but this hypothesis does not seem likely, even though the reign of terror is taking place. M. Herriot is reported to be heading a group of former Deputies who, even under the shadow of the guillotine, are protesting Pétain's terrible treachery. The Germans would hardly have gone so far themselves as to shoot Laval, who has for many years been one of their most useful agents in France. There is no doubt that millions of Frenchmen hate and despise the Pétain-Quisling regime. With the slightest encouragement from abroad, they could do much to hinder Hitler at a time when he can least afford to spare troops from the Eastern Front to police Western Europe.

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It is heartbreaking to record that at this very moment of the greatest opportunity to harm Hitler at minimum risk to ourselves, President Roosevelt and the American State Department seem to have turned their backs squarely on the French friends of democracy. The President—of course, under the advice of the still-appeasement-minded State Department—has let it be known that we will not recognize de Gaulle in any degree. His offer of air bases in equatorial West Africa is rejected by our officials with two patent falsehoods: first, that he does not control the territory, and second, that he never made the offer.

Our appeasers were wrong about Italy, wrong about Spain, wrong about Japan. They have already shown themselves wrong about Vichy, and Pétain kicked them in the face for their pains a few weeks ago. Thanks to their stupidity—to put no worse name on it—the Nazis have already overrun French Morocco, as we reported last week. But apparently they are insatiable. In collaboration with likeminded appeasers who still linger on in the British Cabinet, and using the flimsy pretext of fear of the French fleet, they will continue to appease until they have come as near as possible to losing the war for the democracies. We refuse to believe that President Roosevelt, on due consideration, will not realize the disastrous mistake of continuing on such a course.

The Oil Shortage

There can be no doubt that the East Coast oil shortage is real, but it is just as apparent that a reasonable solution can be achieved without hardship. Ralph K. Davies, Secretary Ickes' deputy oil coördinator, says consumption will exceed Atlantic Seaboard receipts during the last four months of 1941 by 27,800,000 barrels. This would reduce the reserve to 44,800,000 barrels, "the irreducible working level." The oil industry is generally agreed with Secretary Ickes that the East can have in sufficient quantities gasoline, oil for heating, or oil for industry, but that it cannot have all of them. Of gasoline alone there is about a month's supply in storage.

It is thought that twenty-five additional tankers will go to Britain soon, making our contribution seventy-five, and that before spring we shall have released at least another twenty-five for the Atlantic routes. The Florida-to-Nashville pipeline will be completed about January 1, the Baton Rouge-to-Greensboro, North Carolina, line should be in operation by spring, and a twenty-four-inch line from Texas to New York is planned. The railroads say they have plenty of tank cars available, but this transportation will cost about three cents a gallon, compared with about a half-cent for water haulage. The pipelines, which will have solved the problem by next spring, have a cost somewhere between these two. Finally, there is a possible solution in concrete tankers, which can be completed in a relatively short time. Certainly there seems no cause for hysteria in this situation. We apparently can have a normal supply of oil by paying a higher price for it. In the meantime, we haven't tried a really persuasive form of rationing, which in reasonable form would cause neither hardship nor resentment among the American people.

A Purge in the Army

It is good news that the army has decided to send home a large proportion of the reserve officers at present on active duty—at least a quarter of them and perhaps a half. It is no secret at all that many reserve officers don't know their business, and this fact has contributed to the low morale of the drafted men. The army discreetly says nothing about the basis of selection of the men to be released, but we hope we can assume it will include the more glaring incompetents. Now we should do the same thing with the grossly unfit officers among the regulars. Their places could be taken, to great advantage, by men of outstanding abilities taken from the ranks and trained in special officers' schools. In this regard we are at present far behind the practices of the best armies in the world.

Talk about Tanks

After everyone had justifiedly found the President's reply to Senator Byrd's charges on the failure of American armament production unsatisfactory, Washington released figures showing that on at least one of the items mentioned by the Senator, tanks, the President was right and his critic wrong. The Senator claimed that we had shipped only 200 tanks to the British. The President insisted that we had sent "several hundred." The correct figure appears now to be 500, divided between light—thirteen to sixteen tons—and medium—twenty-five to thirty tons. Why should not this information have been stated plainly by the administration in the first place? Is the War Department trying to bluff the American people and the Germans both? It certainly is not fooling the Germans, who probably knew almost exactly how many tanks had been hoisted on shipboard. The way to impress the Nazis is to get production figures up to a point that will impress Americans, to whom 500 motor vehicles are something to be backed into the parking lot of a small-town department store. The fact that the machine in question is a tank, a considerably larger and more elaborate job than a Chevrolet coupé, does not excite an American unduly. It is precisely this healthy scorn of such a figure as 500 that can supply the impetus to turning out the weapons in the quantity that is needed. If the President would just try talking frankly to his fellow countrymen for a while, and would insist that his subordinates talk the same way, the things that the Germans do not want to see happen, and that Americans do, might begin to take place.

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Angels and Ministers of Grace, Defend Us!

Though we have not seen the new Steinbeck film of Mexico, "The Forgotten Village," we gather that the cause of the ban placed upon it by the New York Board of Censors is that it is a bit too frank about childbirth and that it offers the horrible and indecent spectacle of a mother nursing her child. If this is the case, the author and producer evidently owe a concession to those whose duty it is to safeguard the thirteen million inhabitants of the state from being exposed to too intimate a contact with nature. In New York, Mr. Steinbeck, human mothers do not bear children or suckle them! We suggest that you make another picture, exclusively for New York, in which a baby is brought by a stork, and is fed from a bottle with certified cow's milk.

Wartime Profits

A tabulation of the public statements of 350 large industrial corporations, made by the National City Bank of New York, shows an average increase in profits, after tax deductions, of approximately 20 percent in the first half of this year over the first half of 1940. The average rate of profits of these companies was 12.8 percent. The profits of the corporations which hold the fat defense contracts mounted like mercury under a sun lamp: Baldwin Locomotive net for the period was up 43 percent; Bendix Aviation, 77 percent; North American, 65 percent; United Aircraft, 100 percent; U. S. Steel, 69 percent. Even these statements should be read with care, because in most instances accountants have subtracted in advance from their gross income all the additional taxes which they figure the company might have to pay during the half year as a result of the new tax bill. Many companies are also making a magnificently generous allowance for future taxes and depreciation. For example, General Motors reported profits up only 4 percent; and Dupont bookkeepers were able to show an actual decline of 7 percent. Four large auto producers, including GM, kept their margins down by increasing contingency reserves 285 percent against "future tax increases." We trust that Congress will justify the business acumen of the accountants by passing the excess-profits tax which they know these skyrocketing gains demand.

Wooing the Moslems

Now that Iran has yielded to British-Russian pressure, an appropriate moment has arrived to reconsider the whole attitude of Britain and her allies toward the Moslem world. Up to now, British diplomacy in this connection has been a dismal failure. The pro-British government of Irak was rather easily overthrown last spring. Moslems in Syria resisted their liberation by the Allied forces; Iran yielded only to overwhelming armed strength. Egypt and Turkey continue to be non-belligerents. The prospect is not encouraging for other Moslem countries such as Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and the French African possessions or those with large Moslem minorities.

Of the 300,000,000 Moslems in the world, nearly all live in areas of vital strategic importance to the Allied cause. Under the circumstances it is surprising and discouraging that British diplomacy has been so bungling and inept. It has failed to take account, for one thing, of the fundamental changes that have taken place in the Moslem world since it came under Western influence and domination. The ideas and ideals of the French and American revolutions have taken strong root, and a powerful nationalist spirit has risen, fanned by brutal exploitation by European powers.

It is sometimes hastily assumed that because of the Palestine question, justice for the Moslems is incompatible with justice for the Jews; but this is not true. In fact, the only ultimate solution of that vexed issue is justice for both sides.

The United States can play a tremendous part in gaining the friendship of the Moslem world for the Allies. We are the one great power in whom the Moslems have confidence—perhaps because they have had so little contact with us. The American Red Cross is respected throughout the Near and Middle East. The memory of the late Charles R. Crane, who befriended both Ibn Saud and the Syrian Nationalists, is fresh. If this country would pledge to the Moslem leaders that we would not tolerate peace treaties unfair to them, it would bring an electrifying response among 300,000,000 potential allies for the democratic cause, most of whom are now passive enemies.

The Dam Goes

The great Dnieper Dam has gone out. Symbol of the USSR's first Five Year Plan, first monumental construction of the people of Russia for their own use, landmark of the era when the new socialist state kindled the imaginations of men of good will all over the world, the dam has been totally destroyed by Budenny's men to check the Germans in their effort to cross the Dnieper River. Seldom has a chapter of history ended with so reverberating a blast. What will be the writing on the next page? The return of Russia to the esteem and respect of the West? No one, friend or enemy, could withhold respect at least for the ardor with which she is now defending herself. Yet it would be a daring prophet who would write the first sentence of the next chapter, even though there is no man in the world who can say that his own fortunes are not tightly tied to the events that are now to be disclosed.

Last Week

The result of the attempt to prevent Lindbergh from speaking in Oklahoma City was to get his talk more publicity than it would otherwise have obtained. The

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address followed that curious line which his mind has been chalking out in the darker corners of his emotions since the year he fled from the United States filled with anger toward his countrymen and received sanctuary in England. A psychiatrist could explain how it has come about that, to the fugitive, England is now the enemy. It is sufficient for the rest of us to note that that is the fact. In the Oklahoma speech he warned Americans that England "may turn against us, as she has turned against France." Judging from the comments in the press the transposition of the facts in the supporting clause was too transparent even for propaganda.

The New York Herald Tribune brought out facts documented with smart research and photostats unearthing Vichy's underground pro-Nazi propaganda organization in the United States. Its central figure is a character called Musa, who signs himself secretary to Ambassador Henry-Haye. . . . Vichy took another step along the road to Berlin with Pétain's announcement that from now on France would be a one-party country. And the rifle barrels of the execution squads grew hotter. To proclaim the one-party idea seems easy for any man who at the moment controls a national system of loud speakers, but recognition of the one truth it depends on seems to sink into men only with the help of a copper-jacketed cartridge.

The New Defense Board

THE UNITED STATES began its defense effort with two false assumptions: one, that it could produce the armament necessary for itself, Britain and the other nations resisting aggression without mobilizing its full economic resources; two, that its assistance in the defeat of Hitler could be confined to particular, limited measures, to be decided upon and executed in a piecemeal fashion, without much relationship to one another. We had, of course, to organize the production of munitions; for this purpose the National Defense Advisory Commission was developed into the OPM. We had to give aid to Britain, and so established the Lease-Lend Administration. We had to protect certain consumers, and so belatedly created the office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply. We had to conserve our essential war materials from export, especially to Hitler and his allies, and at the same time conduct economic defense in many other directions on the international field, and so still more belatedly set up the agency for economic defense under Vice President Wallace. Finally, as a result of waste and conflict and delay, we have been forced to acknowledge that these various efforts must be dovetailed with each other, and so have set up a new board to adjust their inter-relationships—the Supply, Priorities and Allocations Board.

This board, if it performs its functions effectively, must act as an Economic General Staff—an agency which ought to have been set up on the very first day of the defense program. Indeed, such an agency is just as essential in peace if the nation is to utilize fully its resources for the purposes which seem good to it. The reason this was not done is partly that, conditioned by many years of economic individualism, we still cling to the "concrete" and the "practical" until we get into a well-nigh hopeless muddle for want of vigorous theoretical thinking. And it is partly because the President himself seems to be incapable of coördinated thinking of a scientific or engineering character, being mainly an adept in politics.

The task of an Economic General Staff (which is in essence a National Planning Board) is simple in theory though complex in execution. We have certain ascertainable resources of labor, management, natural resources, productive equipment. We must make such use of these as to supply our army and navy, the needs of foreign nations with whom we are friendly, the civilian population. If they are not big enough, we must expand them. If they cannot be expanded, they must be allotted in the order of the importance of use. That is all there is to it. But *no agency in the government* has, before last week, officially tackled this elementary job with power of decision. We have had one agency trying to make order and sense out of munitions production, and other agencies doing the other separate jobs. But when it came to making basic decisions about how much its supply ought to be and could be expanded, and how the total product should be allotted among the main uses, there was literally nobody with power to decide except the President himself, and in most instances he was not supplied with the information requisite for a decision, because nobody had been commissioned to prepare it. Even the need for such decisions was not acknowledged.

The new agency is logically set up from an administrative point of view. Its chairman is Vice President Wallace, who can think logically about such matters and also is in charge of waging economic war abroad. The army and navy are represented; OPM is represented by Messrs. Knudsen and Hillman; OPACS is represented by Mr. Henderson. The Executive Director, Mr. Donald Nelson, has not only had a valuable experience in private business as an executive of Sears Roebuck, but is one of the few dollar-a-year men who have been able to see the defense program on a large scale from the beginning. If any order has been brought into the purchasing of the army and the navy, he deserves the main credit.

From the early days of the defense effort, there has been a cry for one-man control. Evidently what many had in mind was a big he-man for private industry who would make snap judgments, put labor in its place, supersede the President as a representative of the people, and cut non-defense expenditures to the bone.

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Such control would have been calamitous. What we have needed was not one-man control, but the correct administrative design, with the creation of agencies to perform the necessary functions and to make the decisions that were going by default. The job is too big for one man; the trouble was that it was not being done at all. Everything of a basic nature had to wait for the President's word; his desk, it was frequently said among the insiders, was the worst bottleneck in Washington.

We fervently hope that the new agency will be an efficient economic general staff. If it is, will the necessary war organization be complete? We hardly think so. One more major body, long recommended by the National Planning Association and other experts, is required, to set the concrete objectives for the various general staffs—naval, military, economic—who decide the guiding policies, on the basis of which the proper authorities may know how much the army and the navy need, in relation to each other and the civilian population. How are our various war efforts themselves to be coördinated? What is the strategy of the war, and what does it demand in the way of ships, guns, tanks, planes, wheat, etc.? The President and Congress, of course, fix policies in a general sense, but policies need to be translated into more specific programs. For this a war council or strategy board is needed, so that the Economic General Staff may have a basis for its decisions other than the conflicting claims of its members.

For an Ultimatum to Japan

DURING THE PAST WEEK, there have been repeated reports that Japan and the United States had come, or were about to come, to an understanding. These reports have originated exclusively in Axis quarters. Is there any reason to believe that they are reliable?

That Japan would like such an understanding, bought cheaply, goes without saying. The Japanese have been gravely alarmed by our recent attitude and actions. Although to many Americans our government has seemed timid and vacillating, the Japanese have found it disturbingly vigorous. Under the pressure they seem to have lost their heads almost completely. They have advanced the wholly ridiculous theory that for us to send supplies to Russia via Vladivostok is an affront to their "face," although Japan herself has a treaty with the Russians. The Japanese government seemingly disregarded the obvious fact that the United States would hardly withdraw these ships once they had started on their trans-Pacific voyage. It violated the first rule of diplomacy which is, never to invite a certain rebuff—unless a rebuff is what you are looking for.

No doubt there are still elements in the American State Department that would like to continue appeasement of Japan even after that policy has been such a bitter failure in the Far East and everywhere else. How influential this group still is, we do not know. We hope, however, for the sake of our country and the future of the world, that the appeasers have been overridden. For it should be obvious to anyone that this is no time for us to be timid or faltering in our relations with the Japanese leaders who have made such a ghastly failure of their policies, foreign and domestic, in the past four years. The Japanese are badly frightened of the combined power of the "ABCDR" group of nations—America, Britain, China, the Dutch East Indies and Russia, and with good reason. These powers, acting together, can certainly clip Japan's wings now if they want to. They can prevent her going any farther south; they can probably force her to withdraw a large part of her other recent aggressions. On the other hand, a year hence the case may not be so favorable from the democracies' point of view. It is possible, even though not very likely, that Russia might then be out of the picture and the British might be so busily engaged in Europe that they could do little in the Orient, in spite of Mr. Churchill's firm pledge to Mr. Roosevelt at their recent conference.

The time to act against Japan is now. It is true that we do not yet have a two-ocean navy, but we have all the ships necessary to continue our duties in the Atlantic and at the same time, with British aid, to blockade Japan with a ring of steel, so that not a gallon of oil, a pound of metal or anything else can reach her shores. Under such a blockade, her economic life would quickly crumble. This is the time for the concert of anti-Axis powers to present a joint ultimatum to Japan. She should be told she must leave the Axis at once, withdraw from Indo-China, make peace with Chungking and get out of China, renounce her ambitions in Siberia. The alternative to immediate acceptance of these terms should be war—a war which all competent military authorities agree would certainly end before many months in a crushing defeat for Japan which would reduce her from her present status as a second-class power to a fourth-class power for generations to come.

One important argument against going to war now has been the assumption that this is what Hitler wants and that we ought not to play into his hands. But it is not at all sure that Hitler in fact wants a war at once between the United States and Japan. It seems more probable that he would like an indefinite continuance of the present ambiguous position. He hopes to dispose of Russia and England consecutively before either of them can be given aid on a really adequate scale, and then turn to Africa and South America, at which time there would be maximum usefulness for him in having the United States embroiled with Japan.

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If Japan makes peace with us, she should of course be given an important *quid pro quo*. She should be offered free access on ordinary business terms to all the raw materials and markets that she needs and a chance to collaborate fairly as a partner with all other nations in the development of the Far East—a development, however, primarily for the benefit of the native populations involved and not a mere exploitation of them.

The Japanese have sometimes called themselves, in a burst of vainglory, "the Germany of the East." But this is not true. Japan is the Italy of the East. Just as Mussolini looked fairly formidable until he was obliged to put his prowess to the proof, so the Japanese seem formidable only as long as they can do most of their fighting against ill equipped troops—or against helpless women and children. Their national policy is a protofascism directed by an army and navy which are hopelessly at crossed swords with each other. The navy leaders are fairly sensible; but the army is imbued with a suicidal fanaticism which is a grave weakness in a military machine and could easily lead to destruction both of army and country.

Certainly the anti-Axis powers, and especially the United States, should not seek armed conflict if we can gain our ends by peaceful negotiation. But we must not allow that fact to lull us into doing nothing until our enemy has us at a grave disadvantage. By a bold and firm course now, we can detach Japan from the Axis and make secure our rear in the Pacific while we are helping to exterminate the Nazi menace in the rest of the world. But we must act with determination and at once.

A "Heating-Up" Law in Canada

STRIKES stop production. Since all strikes are in time settled, people ask why it is not sensible to insist in the emergency that the act of striking must be deferred for a certain interval while a settlement is undertaken?

Shortly after the war began Canada passed a law which made strikes illegal during such a "cooling off" period. What has our neighbor's experience been?

In January, 1941, work days lost in Canada from strikes totaled 3,238. In February, 7,514. In March, 3,515. These totals average about the same as in peacetime. The law did not reduce them. In April, 75,430 days were lost. Most of the strikes were "legal," undertaken after conciliation had admittedly failed. In the others, workers flatly defied the law.

Canada has no Wagner Act. Employers favored the law, expecting that it would discourage union organization. It has the opposite effect. Workers saw in it an opportunity to begin negotiations for collective bargaining and flooded the Labor Department with application for the Boards of Conciliation which it authorized. Whereupon the government took the place of employers in resisting labor's efforts and drew upon itself doubled resentment, which has made itself felt in lack of enthusiasm for the whole war effort.

The government's method of resistance has been to postpone the establishment of the Conciliation Boards. Employees of National Steel Car in Hamilton, who voted to strike in January, could not get attention until the Opposition, on the floor of Parliament, exposed the seemingly deliberate delay. Peck Rolling Mill workers in Montreal have had their dispute before a Conciliation Board for more than a year with no settlement in sight. The inevitable result was that the cooling-off law produced a heating-up period. In Owen Sound and Montreal, tannery and steel workers turned in mass resignations and began looking for other jobs. There has been widespread adoption of the slow-down. Several thousand Nova Scotia miners are staging one at the moment.

The most revealing episode took place at the plant of Acme Screw and Gear Company in Toronto. Employees, working on important war orders, walked out in a body. They were completely unorganized. Did the government hasten to clap them all in prison? Canada's objective is quantities of war material in warehouses and on wharves, not quantities of men in jail. What it did in desperation was send out an SOS for union organizers. They came, organized the strikers, ferreted out a list of concrete grievances, obtained a responsible negotiating committee and got production underway once more.

Let us thank our stars and Senator Wagner that, during the peacetime New Deal years, we recognized the necessity of collective bargaining, established it in principle, set up machinery to put it in effect and practised running that machinery. To try a short cut to perfection would merely short-circuit it. Strikes are caused by grievances. Settlements of grievances are not speeded up by serving notice that the government is encouraging management to resist.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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A Substitute for Imperialism

IN THE PRECEDING ARTICLE in this series we discussed some of the ways in which America can be made over after the war is ended, if we will use our collective intelligence and good will for that purpose. The second great problem of post-war reconstruction has to do with the relations among the countries throughout the world. This is a matter of the most pressing importance; there is not a moment to lose. The best available brains in London, Washington and all other countries within the democratic orbit, including the refugee governments of France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., should be at work on this problem today. (To some extent, such work is getting under way.) No one knows when the war may end, or how suddenly. In 1918, the rulers of the victorious powers refused to face this problem and the result was a long period of needless misery for millions of people all over the world. Have we the necessary vision and courage to profit by that painful experience?

By now it should be clearly understood that the eight points evolved by Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill in their recent meeting represent only a basic minimum from which to start. (These eight points are now in fact ten, the President having added freedom of speech and of worship.) Every one of these points, with a single exception, is to be found, explicitly or implicitly, in Wilson's Fourteen Points. The exception is the aspiration expressed by the Premier and the President for "fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security." Into these few words the heads of the two greatest democracies on earth have packed ideas which need an enormous amount of expansion, discussion and, finally, implementation.

This article will not attempt to discuss in detail the terms of a peace treaty or the reconstructed map of Europe—and the world—which will come after that treaty. Detailed plans of this sort will be so greatly modified by the passage of time and unpredictable events that their chief present value is only to reveal the minds of the men holding high government positions. Instead, we shall discuss the broad outline of one of the vitally important relationships of the post-war period—the possible attitudes of the leading powers toward one another, and toward the so-called backward regions of the earth, in the financial and economic sphere. The world now realizes, as it did not thirty years ago, that the maintenance of peace and order can be imperiled by failure to face up to this problem firmly and remove as many as possible of the tensions before they have developed into actual conflict.

No matter when the war ends (still assuming a German defeat) we shall find human suffering on a scale unparalleled in modern times. That suffering, indeed, already exists. Multitudes of people in scores of countries will then lack, as they lack now, adequate food, clothing, shelter, decent minimum cultural and recreational opportunities. The delicate economic machinery of international trade will be badly out of repair. If the world is not to slip back into semi-savagery, heroic rescue work on a vast international scale will be necessary. The United States must inevitably bear the brunt of this task, if it is to be done at all. However much the war may have cost us by that time, our burden will probably be far less than that of any other country which is in a position to help at all. We shall have the lion's share of the money, the goods and the moral and physical drive. We shall be one of the very few countries on earth with an attitude of mind that would make aiding the world seem other than completely nonsensical. Yet action by the United States is not to be recommended solely or even primarily on altruistic grounds. From the strictest dollars-and-cents point of view, in the long run—and the short one too—it is good business.

It is unfortunate that Hitler and Mussolini should have talked so often in their propaganda about the "have" and "have-not" nations. What they have said on this subject has been largely false, and the course of conduct they have sought to justify has been such as would make the disease worse and not better. Thus far, Hitler in his campaign "for the good life" has managed only to bring the German people and those of every other country he has conquered to the brink of starvation. His cure for unemployment was war—guns and not butter. In so far as Germany and Italy are among the "have nots"—and it is much less true than they pretend—it is because of the suicidal policies of their leaders who don't understand economics and certainly not the economics of abundance. Theirs is the attitude of men who fight over a pail of water on the bank of a stream.

Yet it is true that there are "have-not" nations in the world, and they are doing harm to our entire terrestrial system. As long as there are important numbers of nations most of whose inhabitants lack all the luxuries and many of the necessities, there can be no true and lasting prosperity anywhere in the world. For one thing, such populations live in the fear and insecurity which are a fertile forcing bed for fascism. They are willing to rush recklessly into war because they have so little stake in peace. They are potential, unrealized customers for vast masses of goods that might be manufactured and are not, in their own countries and elsewhere. They thus cause the loss of unimaginable sums

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in wages that are not paid, to workmen who do not exist, or are unemployed, in factories that have never been built—or are idle for the lack of customers.

The governments of the leading countries of the world must learn to apply intelligent principles in dealing with the undeveloped regions of the earth. There are types of expenditure which do not make any direct cash return, but without which we cannot have a state of civilization where the inhabitants will purchase and consume all the goods and services they need. The United States should take the lead in making loans or grants of this character, in order to move toward the ideal so admirably expressed by President Roosevelt in his recent message to Congress when he demanded "freedom from want." Translated into world terms, this means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy, peacetime life for its inhabitants—"everywhere in the world."

Beyond these investments, which earn only an indirect return but which might make sure for mankind the priceless benefit of a guarantee of permanent, worldwide peace and prosperity, there are others which may only give such a low cash return that no commercial house, bank or entrepreneur would consider them as an investment for clients' money. Here again government action is required, for the very reason that it is this kind of investment that makes possible thriving and healthy communities.

Assuming that the leaders of our government have the vision to recognize this picture of the world that might be, and indeed the world that must be, if life on this planet is to become endurable again, they must also recognize that this task cannot be performed by the United States alone or in this hemisphere alone. In the first place, unilateral action by the United States would be misinterpreted as old-fashioned predatory imperialism—and indeed, might turn into that. In the second place, North, Central and South America do not constitute a neatly closed system either economically, culturally or even for defense. Economically, North and South America both produce surplus raw materials which they must sell in other quarters of the globe; they cannot "take in each other's washing" —certainly not all of it—even if they tried. Culturally, Latin America has far stronger ties with the old world than with the "Yanquis." To some extent it looks to Rome for spiritual guidance. In the past, it turned to Paris for its cultural ideas, its art, its music and much of its literature. Emotionally, it had some nostalgic ties to Madrid, the fountainhead of Spanish civilization. Collectively, it has in the past looked with deep suspicion on the people of the United States as aliens in race, religion, language, manners, culture, and as being suspected of trying to dominate part of Latin America by force of arms—a charge that seemed verified until a few years ago by what we did in Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama and Mexico.

The attempt, therefore, to create a really new order in foreign trade and investment must, to have any chance of succeeding, be broadly international in origin and worldwide in scope, though there is no reason why we cannot make a beginning on a small scale even now, in relation to a few countries in this hemisphere. Our first and obvious natural partners in such an effort are the countries in the British Commonwealth of Nations, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. These are the countries which come nearer to sharing our point of view than any others; they have as much to gain as we have—or more—from the maintenance of international peace; among them they have vast resources to bring to such an enterprise—not forgetting worldwide political and economic connections and experience. Yet the plan should not stop with such coöperation. The refugee governments and China and Turkey must be part of the pattern from the outset and, indeed, the scheme should be open to every country in the world on equal terms, provided only that it is willing to demonstrate its sincere intention of adhering to the new principle in international affairs. The countries which would receive assistance under the plan should certainly be represented on all boards and committees having anything to do with their own affairs, and should be full partners in the general enterprise as far as they are willing and able to do so. Difficulties of course there will be. Each country can and will find things about the other that it does not like. If our consciences are sufficiently sensitive, Americans should be troubled when the millions of India are held by force, and when the British possessions in the Caribbean—on our very doorstep—continue to be sunk in poverty and to have their affairs dictated from afar. The British may well ask in return whether we have not benefited from a hundred years of protection behind the guns of the British navy and whether we and they should not share in a sense of responsibility for the peace and economic development of a large area of the whole world—and not, in our case, merely our own hemisphere.

What does such a scheme look like? Here are a few principles very roughly stated to get the discussion going:

1. Foreign investment, which implies development and utilization of resources, should either be made by governments or under control of the administrations of the two countries involved. Thus, if a citizen of country A wanted to put money into country B, the transaction would pass from him to government A to government B to the private individuals in country B with whom he wished to deal. It is probable that governments A and B would also be coöperating in the workings of an international lending board which would control the general lines of all investment policy.

2. The broad purpose underlying international finan-

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cial movement would be, not to make the maximum percentage of profit per year on the money invested but to establish on a rising spiral the standard of living and of services offered to the inhabitants of the country to which the money was going. For this purpose, it is imperative that important expenditures within any state be under the control of the government of that state and should not be directed either by the government of another state or by private concessionaires. In so far as foreign experts are needed to carry out the plan, let them be hired by the debtor government, as China, for example, has hired foreign experts to aid in her development.

3. The ideal to be sought is that each country shall have a chance to develop all its economic resources and shall not be held down to the "one-crop" exploitation that at present often works such enormous hardships.

4. As a test of a heightened standard of living in any country, there is a rough and ready measuring stick. As we have said in an earlier article, the lower in the scale a country stands, the larger the proportion of its people who are engaged in agriculture and the production of basic raw materials. As civilization advances, machine technology is introduced to increase the output per worker per day and curtail the total number of man hours. This in turn releases an ever larger proportion of the population for a wide variety of social services, such as health, education, recreation and cultural activities.

As we get farther away from devoting all our time to the elementary human needs of food and shelter, we can engage in more and more of those new adventures through which civilization advances. We can attack mankind's last foes among the diseases—the great plagues, and cancer and the circulatory diseases. We can drain marshes, dig canals, create a vast network of modern highways, rebuild and replace our cities. At home as well as abroad, vast investment is needed of the kind which private enterprise does not want and cannot afford to undertake. The Tennessee Valley Authority, quite apart from its value as a source of electric energy, is an excellent example of the right approach to the problem of a poverty-stricken people in an exhausted rural area. The initial investment has been one which only a government could make, and the cash returns must and can be only indirect over a number of years. But can we measure solely in cash terms the new hope and optimism, the new health and variety of new private enterprise and profitable employment? Of course not. As social services improve and the enterprise is freed, an area starts upward on a spiral of new hope and prosperity.

5. With both domestic and international investment aided by independent experts who have a broad, impartial judgment and are not under the necessity of considering first of all immediate and substantial profit, there is reason to hope that we can fill up the valleys and level off the peaks of recurrent booms and depressions. Many people, beginning with former President Hoover, have recommended the coöperative alternate use of private and public investment to halt the wild gyrations of the business cycle; but this has never been done. For eight years, President Roosevelt leaned toward this policy, but the conservatives in Congress, in the offices of great newspapers, on the directing board of the National Association of Manufacturers, always managed to hold down the government expenditure so that not enough was ever spent in any one year really to do the job.

Today we can have several advantages over the past if we care to use them. For one thing, our international activity need not be hampered by the fears and inhibitions of the average conservative American business man. In the second place, the exigencies of the national-defense program will have taught us to think boldly and in large terms. We may even at last have come to realize that if you can spend, let us say, five billion dollars of government money and thereby increase the national income twenty-five billions, it is a good thing to do. Finally, mostly by accident and certainly not as a reward of any kind of merit, we now have more than twenty-two billion dollars' worth of gold buried in the ground at Fort Knox. Hardly any of it is doing any good now or will do any good in the visible future under present policies. We could use part of this gold as a basis for courageous international activities of the sort described above, issuing special currency against it as a liquid fund to be turned over repeatedly in the process of getting international trade operating on the new basis. This would not require much bravery on our part; most of the investment would be a good risk even on wholly commercial terms. The rest would be a good investment if by it we could purchase permanent peace and a higher standard of living throughout the world.

6. Reluctant as Americans are to face up to the problem, we shall certainly require an international police force. Without security of transit on the high seas, safe from piracy, there can hardly be any worldwide fabric of civilization. The beginnings of such a police force already exist in the combined strength of the British and American navies and air forces. Little more would be necessary than to give formal expression to what already tacitly exists. It would be desirable of course to add to these forces, as rapidly as may be, volunteer units from other countries—including, certainly, anti-Nazi Germans and Austrians, and anti-Fascist Italians, and to share equitably the responsibility for contributions of money and personnel.

Land armament, under this plan, should be sterilized into a comparatively small police force within the boundaries of each state. While these might well be on a volunteer basis, the wise nation will see to it in future that its youth maintains a high level of physical pre-

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paredness and mental and spiritual morale—high enough to make its numbers quickly available for national defense if emergency should arise. Some scheme that incorporates the best elements of the CCC, with more emphasis upon the needs of the body and the mind and with a variety of choice in the kinds of skill and training that are offered, seems indicated.

Many worthy souls in England and the United States are agitating themselves on behalf of a political union of the English-speaking nations of the world. This is an altruistic enterprise, as noble in the minds of its progenitors as was the League of Nations. Unhappily, it seems to be founded, like the League, on a misapprehension that political groupings can have significance without relation to economic ones, or that out of these political groupings trade arrangements will flow. Careful students of international affairs know better than this. They know that the most important permanent realities are the economic ones, based upon man's desire for food, clothing, shelter and as much of a good life as he can manage. The advantage of basing a new world order upon economic realities rather than political pretenses is that we can begin at once, and on as small a scale as seems desirable. It is not necessary to offer sweeping plans for which the people as a whole are not ready—as they are certainly not ready for a federal union of the United States and the British Empire. The economic approach promises nothing that cannot be delivered; indeed, it can deliver first and promise afterward, which is always the preferable order.

We live today amid enormous disillusionment. Millions of people have been assuming ever since Darwin burst upon the world in 1859 that the progress of civilization was somehow automatic, irresistible and guaranteed; they have waked up with a bump as they have opened their eyes to the possibility of a new Dark Age, one that has already come to vast areas of the world. Other millions have clung to hope in some magic formula such as socialism and have seen their dreams shattered under the metal heel of the Ogpu in Russia or the Gestapo of something calling itself National Socialism in Germany. The retreat into religion has for most people proved increasingly difficult as the churches have themselves been seen as victims of the storm and not its masters. Yet it becomes clearer every day that men cannot live without some framework of hope in their lives, some forward impulse of which they can be a part. We believe that the conceptions outlined above, for a worldwide reorganization, might easily form the basis for hope in the lives of millions of people. They require no bloody and violent revolution; such revolutions are at a discount in the eyes of realistic observers today. They are capable of immediate application; they would both help to win the war against Germany and to make a decent world order when that war was won. They would grapple with the overwhelming economic problem of the present day, the problem of poverty in the midst of surplus. They offer a definite hope for continuing peace and a reduction of the burden of armament. If there is a preferable alternative, we should dearly like to know what it is.

This is the last of a series of editorial articles discussing various economic aspects of the war situation and post-war possibilities. The previous articles appeared in our issues of December 9 and 23, February 10, May 26 and July 21.—THE EDITORS

Fair Taxes Are Practical

MUCH HEAVIER TAXES, we are told, are urgently needed to block inflation. Whether or not this diagnosis is correct—the writer thinks it is, and that the taxes so far proposed are smaller than we shall need—a heavy increase in tax burdens is certainly coming.

Not everybody's hobby can really qualify as a war-horse; and perhaps the conservatives are right in giving reform for the present a rather low priority rating. But obviously the sacrifices required by defense must be made by somebody in particular. In choosing our method of defense financing, we cannot avoid selecting the people to bear the burdens. Inevitably, any scheme which is simple enough to be put into force quickly must fall short of perfect fairness. But this is no excuse for dealing out burdens at random through ignorance, let alone for deliberately choosing taxes which add to the existing regressiveness of the country's tax system.

Taxes on excess profits are looked upon by many liberals as the natural solution of the defense-revenue problem. The principle of taxing incomes merely because they have increased, of course, is a dangerous one: the most ardent advocates of excess-profits taxes would not care to apply the same rule to wage incomes. Ideally, it would be better to tax all profits in the hands of stockholders, asking not whether they have increased but whether they bring the incomes of individual stockholders into the range where they should be heavily taxed. But in view of the difficulty of taxing undistributed profits, excess-profits taxes offer a reasonably satisfactory rough-and-ready substitute. In any event, they are a necessary part of any effective program for combating inflation, as Mr. Eccles pointed out in Fortune (August), because their presence is

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essential if labor and farm groups are to be persuaded to follow reasonable price and wage policies; swollen profits are a standing invitation to wage and price demands which will push price levels up.

Excises on goods whose production competes with defense, as proposed by Leon Henderson, fall in the same category with excess-profits taxes. These excises should not be thought of as devices for making goods scarce, but as a means for preventing a scarcity otherwise caused from doing needless damage. If we really have a 50 percent restriction of auto output on the 1942 model year, no "price-control" devices can keep customers from paying more for new cars—there are too many ways to disguise extra charges to permit effective policing. But by earmarking the added payment as "defense tax" rather than as an open or covert subsidy to the dealer, we can keep dealers' margins within bounds. Incidentally, if we imitate the Canadians and graduate the tax we can direct the resources left in the auto industry for making large cars into making a larger number of small cars. (The Canadians tax 25 percent on the first $900 of retail value, 40 percent on the next $300, 80 percent on the excess over $1,200 —*i. e.*, $200 on an $800 car, $345 on a $1,200 car, $985 on a $2,000 car.) Similar presumptions apply to the other goods made scarce by defense.

Excess-profits taxes and excises *à la* Henderson are capable of yielding immense sums. But we shall still have to look further for suitable defense taxes. Even pushed to their limits, these taxes are not likely to drain off enough spending power to keep consumption curtailed and prices down; and in any event they will not be pushed to their limits.

Despite Treasury pronouncements about the sacred "ability to pay" principle, Treasury proposals to the Ways and Means Committee included heavy sales-tax elements. But on this side the bill improved greatly under the Committee's hands.

The proposed additional levies on gasoline, beer and cigarettes were cut out of the bill, and the proportion of the excise revenue which could be defended on Mr. Henderson's grounds was greatly increased. As the bill passed the House, the only really obnoxious excises included seem to be those on movie admissions and other amusements, on bowling alleys and pool tables, and on the use of automobiles. The objection to the automobile-use tax is not its principle but its form. It is desirable to discourage use of cars to conserve rubber, gasoline transport, and the cars themselves; but having once paid the proposed five dollars, the individual will have no incentive to hold down his mileage. Public policy would be better served by reviving the gasoline-tax increase as a substitute.

New proposals from the White House and the Treasury point toward a considerable intensification of income and excess-profits taxes, and offer the Senate and its Finance Committee an opportunity to overhaul the whole issue of fiscal policy. But there are rumblings of sales-tax advocacy in both houses of Congress. Furthermore, there are as yet no official proposals for prompt collection. In the absence of such proposals, as will be shown below, the income tax is in danger of looking ineffective.

The difficulty of framing a revenue bill to permit defense financing without either inflation or unfair taxes may be put in a sentence: Sales taxes are not fair; income taxes, under present arrangements, do not promise sufficient revenue, and come in too slowly to be effective. Either we must cure the defects of the income tax or we must load more sales taxes on top of those we already have.

As might be expected at this stage, there are powerful forces pressing for a general sales tax as the basic defense tax. At the Ways and Means hearings Mr. Stam, the Congressional expert, went so far as to argue that defense requires turning our backs on the principle of ability to pay and going over to consumption taxes —contrary to the experience of the belligerent countries, which are swinging toward income taxes. Various business organizations also went on record at the hearings in favor of sales taxes, though it should be noted that the representative of the New York Board of Trade argued that income taxes could never be so drastic as to make sales taxes preferable.

Advocates of sales taxes have been encouraged by the pollsters. Gallup reported in the spring a majority sentiment ready to accept a 2-percent sales tax to pay for defense. There is no reason to doubt the formal accuracy of the report. No doubt an even larger majority would be ready to save democracy by sacrificing their left little toes. But unfortunately we cannot get off so lightly. Despite the myth of the potency of a 2-percent tax which has been spread by the Townsendites, such a sales tax would be small change in defense financing. To raise five billion dollars, say, would take about a 10-percent rate at retail—or about 17 percent if food were exempted. Under a manufacturers' sales tax, these rates would be nearly doubled. If Gallup had asked about the desirability of a jumbo sales tax, he would have found a different reaction.

Another report apparently showing acceptance of sales taxes also fails to stand scrutiny. The Psychological Corporation, according to a recent article in Collier's magazine, asked people whether they would rather pay their share of defense taxes in the form of a sales tax or income tax. Since the people questioned were not reminded that different types of taxes mean different distribution of burdens, they naturally showed a majority in favor of paying in driblets through sales taxes. If the question had been put realistically, it would have been whether it is fairer to tax an $1,100 family income 8 percent and a $40,000 income 3 percent under a sales tax, or to exempt the $1,100 income and tax the

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$40,000 income 18 percent under an income tax. Again a realistic framing of the question would have changed the answer—particularly if the persons questioned were also presented with a picture of lower-bracket tax burdens which exceed 20 percent of income.

The main argument for a sales tax, however, is the apparent lack of an effective alternative, and this is what must be cured if we are to avoid the awkward dilemma of accepting inflation or trying to control it with sales taxes.

The first great drawback of income taxes is the smallness of the tax base. With present exemptions, refusal to tax non-cash income, deductions, "earned income credit" and what not, the total amount subject to individual income tax at a $90,000,000,000 national-income level will be not much over $13,000,000,000, according to calculations carried out by the writer of this article for a book just published. Under taxes now in force, the deficit for 1941-42 might amount to as much as $15,000,000,000; and a large part of that may have to be covered by new taxes if inflation is to be held within moderate limits. No mere raising of rates can be guaranteed to do the trick. We need a wider tax base, which means primarily lower exemptions. Those who argue against lower exemptions—as did the CIO representative at both House and Senate hearings—are playing into the hands of sales-tax advocates by keeping the income tax ineffective. Fortunately the White House and the Treasury have now come out for a substantial lowering of exemptions.

Lowering the exemption level by half and cutting out the "earned income credit" would push the tax base up to above $25,000,000,000, which ought to be adequate. Of course it would be nicer if exemptions could be maintained. But even at half of the present exemptions, a normal family would have $1,200 of tax-free income, which is enough to keep the "lower third" tax-exempt. The main effect of lower exemptions, of course, is not so much to make low incomes taxable as to make the middle incomes more taxable. Of about $13,000,000,000 added to the tax base by striking out earned-income credit and halving exemptions, about $7,500,000,000 would be added taxability of persons taxable at 1940 exemptions, and only about $2,000,000,000 would be taxability of persons below the $3,000 family-income level—which, after all, represents relative affluence. The addition to the tax burdens of really low incomes, contrary to the situation under a sales tax, would be negligible.

The second big drawback of income taxes is their slowness. Taxes on incomes are paid on the average about thirteen months after the taxed incomes are received. It was because of this lag that a third of the World War I income taxes came in after demobilization. For the same reason, the Treasury estimated last April that 40 percent of the additional revenues, which were allegedly aimed to bring tax revenue up to two-thirds of 1941-42 expenditures, would actually come in after the end of the 1941-42 fiscal year.

The basic remedy for slowness in income-tax collection is taxation at the source of income applied to all interest and dividend payments, and to all salaries and wages in excess of modest exemptions. This system is widely branded as "impractical." But the fact is that it has been in use in Germany since long before Hitler, in British Columbia since 1931, and in Canada as a whole since enactment of the National Defense Tax. Furthermore, the Treasury is finding it quite practical to set up hundreds of salary-deduction schemes for subscriptions to Defense Savings Bonds. The essential mechanism for collection at the source is already in operation under our Social Security Act. Besides strengthening the monetary effect of taxes through prompt collection, source collection offers the taxpayer the very real advantage of paying in numerous instalments when he has the money on which he is taxed.

Collection at the source is not a complete solution for the problem of prompt collection, since a third or so of taxable income arises from rents, profits of unincorporated business and other sources at which it is hard to levy a tax. But here again there are means for getting prompt payment. One possibility is to require prompt payment of a tax based on the previous year's tax return, subject to adjustment. Another (hinted at by the Treasury's recent offer of 2 percent interest on prompt payments) is to pull collections in by paying interest. But to be effective the rate must be higher, and must be paid only to taxpayers who take care promptly of the bulk of their tax liability.

An income tax on this basis offers enormous advantages over sales taxes (or disguised sales taxes, which is what for-revenue excises really are): (1) Per billion of revenue raised, it offers a much fairer distribution of tax bills among income brackets—and within income brackets among families of different sizes. (2) Even a jumbo sales tax cannot pinch the income receivers above the $5,000 family-income level enough to reduce their consumption spending much (and it is their spending which goes into consumers' durable goods and other particularly scarce items), while an income tax can. By affecting the spending which is most inflationary, income tax offers the prospect of restraining inflation with a minimum curtailment of consumer spending. (3) On the other hand, the fact that the income tax falls largely on income which would otherwise be saved permits coming nearer to a balanced budget with a given curtailment of spending and thus of markets. (4) If it proves that we have to sweeten the pill of taxation with pledges of eventual refunds (*i. e.*, adopt the Keynes Plan) in order to drain off as much spending power as necessary, development of income tax in the directions urged above will prove to be useful, in fact essential, as preparation.

A. G. HART

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Iran: The New Shape of the War

THE POSITION OF BRITAIN in the Near East has improved tremendously during the last six months as a result of new developments culminated by the Anglo-Soviet occupation of Iran. A resounding defeat has been administered to Hitler.

The results of recent events in the Near East may be summed up as follows:

1. German political and economic influence has been destroyed in every Asiatic country except Japan.

2. All possible land routes for an attack on Suez from the East have been cut off.

3. Germany is no longer receiving important shipments of goods and raw materials from Iran.

4. The last of the bases which Germany hoped to use as jumping-off places for operations against Turkey—Syria, Irak, Russia and Iran—has been liquidated. Turkey is in a position to fight with hope of holding the line on the Straits, or in the Torros Mountains.

It was my privilege to go behind the veil of oriental secrecy surrounding present-day Iran and travel unescorted through the country in March and April of this year. Even then the Nazi infiltration had made noticeable progress, while the "King of Kings, the Shadow of the Almighty, His Imperial Majesty," the Shah, tried to balance among three powers at that time mutually hostile—Britain, Germany and Russia.

I traveled nearly a thousand miles by automobile over roads which would have been considered good in most European countries. Many of the cars to be seen were American made, though prices were very high on these and other imported manufactured commodities, a 1940 Chevrolet selling for the equivalent of about $2,000. Iran produces about 10,000,000 tons of petroleum a year; gasoline was therefore cheap and plentiful, and the traffic was heavy.

Thanks to the initiative and energy of the Shah, Iran has acquired several thousand miles of railroads during the last decade, but as yet these lines do not connect the vitally important parts of the country, which necessitates the utilization of motor transport as the principal means of communication. British or American shipments of war materials to Russia, for instance, will probably be routed from Bandar Shah, on the Persian Gulf, by truck via Teheran to Pahlevi, thence to Julfa and Tiflis. The railroad might be utilized by sending the materials to Bandar Abbas, and then by boat to Krasnovodsk. But this route would probably be the slowest. A truck could travel from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian in four or five days in summer, though in winter the mountain passes are snowed up, and long detours would be necessary.

German influence in Iran was very strong when I was there. In the little town of Isfahan, for example, I found more than a score of Germans. Some were mechanics in the textile mill recently built by German firms; others were Nazi party officials, men and women of questionable occupation, though they worked very hard on their propaganda. "Why do you let the British take all of the oil from you?" they would ask the Iranian workmen. "What the British capitalists do not appropriate is stolen from you by the Iranian landlords, particularly by His Imperial Majesty, the King of Kings." This was apparently effective with the Iranians. As a matter of fact the royalties paid by the Anglo-Iranian oil companies on its petroleum practically financed the Shah's government. But most of the Iranians did not know this and the Germans did not bother to tell them.

Thus in the early months of the present year German influence dominated Iranian public opinion, thanks to hundreds of these skilled German propagandists who operated effectively through the country (with the tacit approval of the government).

One factor facilitating the work of the Germans was the cultural backwardness of the Iranian people. Iran has a population of more than 13,000,000, the majority being peasants living in mud huts on a low subsistence level. Many of these peasants are sharecroppers. They receive two-fifths of the crop of wool or poppy seed, and the landlord, who in most cases owns whole villages or districts, the remaining three-fifths.

The Iranian Army was hardly an army at all in the European sense of the word. The officers and men shaved every day, and shined their shoes, which is unusual for armies in the East, but they had almost no equipment, and most of the soldiers, being peasants and Persians, were not as loyal to the Shah as they were to their own pockets and careers.

I was told that everyone and everything in the Iranian Army had its price. A captain paid his colonel a certain fee in order to get a two-weeks' leave. On one occasion the Russians paid somebody enough so that one third of the Shah's bomber force (three planes) took off and flew to Erivan in Soviet Armenia where they were turned over to the Red Army authorities. This is the army which for a few hours attempted to stem the flood of the Anglo-Soviet invasion in order to save the Shah's face.

In the northern part of Iran, Russian influence has always been strong for quite understandable reasons. Most of the people knew the Russian or the Turkish Azerbaijan languages, both of which were spoken across the frontier in the Soviet Union. The peasants were, to all intents, serfs working on land belonging to one of the largest landowners in the world. "Land to the landless," the old Bolshevik slogan, was very

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effective among these people. Furthermore, the several hundred thousand Christian Armenians scattered throughout Iran, usually better educated and more intelligent than the Iranians, have for years been kept down by means not unlike the expressions of anti-Semitism in Central Europe today. These Armenians are for the most part pro-Soviet, if only for the reason that Armenia is now a Soviet Republic. They formed a good and useful Soviet fifth column in Iran.

Iran has for centuries been the scene of conflicts between Britain and Russia, and during the last war it was a battleground for Turkish and German, as well as for British and Russian, armies. The consequent devastation resulted in the complete disorganization of Persian society, and in economic chaos out of which the present Shah, Reza Khan Pahlevi, emerged and took control by strong-arm methods. The Shah, now nearly seventy, is still a very active and energetic man. The railroad construction, the textile plants and the building of cities and bridges are all his work. He has ruled his country with heavy-handed methods more severe than those employed by the European dictators. In traveling for ten hours by motor car from Teheran to Pahlevi, my passport was examined twelve times. No Iranian could have made such a long trip without a special internal-travel pass.

Assertions that the Shah has been pro-German seem to be unjustified. While His Majesty respects strong men and absolute rulers more than he does democracies, he has attempted to be absolutely neutral in the present war. However, the Germans made offers of commercial coöperation so favorable to Persia, and the British and Americans were so loath to send manufactured commodities to Iran, that the Shah found himself doing business predominantly with Germany from purely commercial considerations.

No one seemed to understand how Germany was able to maintain exports to Iran, or how the Russians managed to handle the traffic on their overburdened railroads.

How the situation has changed in six short months! When I made my Iranian trip almost all of Iran's exports—rice, cotton, tea, wool, tobacco; everything except the British-controlled oil—was being shipped to Germany by way of Russia. When I sailed from Pahlevi to Baku on a Russian freighter I saw warehouses full of these commodities for shipment to Germany. The Boyevoi, an 800-ton freighter on which I sailed, was loaded to the gunwales with cotton and fish for Berlin. Today these important sources of German supply have been cut off and Iran's resources will be fighting on the other side of the war.

Another fundamental and important change has occurred. When I was in Turkey, just before going to Iran in March of this year, I was told dozens of times that Turkey could not risk a war with Germany when an attack from the rear, either through Russia, Irak, Syria or Iran, seemed likely. Now Russia is an ally of Britain, and Iran, Irak and Syria have been occupied for Allied forces. Turkey faces Germany only across the narrow straits, with friends—if she wants them—at her rear.

JOHN SCOTT

Hollywood Is More So

Hollywood is a part of show business and acts like show business, though probably more so. It talks a special kind of language and talks fast. I believe the general level of aimless ragging, gossip and pointed story-telling is higher than it is in life generally; but I could advance no special reason except that talk seems to jump more where life has a faster pace, is more precarious with ups and downs, demanding quick wits for existence—and especially where there is a shared body of salty allusion in the complex technical details of the profession. (Remember the story of the vaudeville actor whose mother had died and the friend was fumbling with condolences? I thought I'd wait until after it was over, the friend said; I saw you in front of the Palace and you seemed to be taking it pretty hard. Oh, in front of the *Palace*, the actor said. You should have caught me at Woodlawn.)

You can sit around anywhere and the boys won't fail you, on the set or in between at lunch. A couple of writers descend upon another. "Do you think he really asked for pink when he bought that shirt?"

"He really got pink, all right."

"Listen. I call this just a trailer for a Borris Morros shirt, ever see one? This is just a trailer."

"It must have been made before technicolor. How can you write in a shirt like that?"

"Isn't this our own free company?"

(Chorus) "This is our own free company, how can anyone grumble?" (After which turn of conversation, the talk unfortunately has to be deleted.)

There is the fellow who calls up a hard-working man. Has a sure-fire story idea for him. The story is called "Four Brothers," absolutely a new wrinkle: there are four brothers and when they are little they take a solemn vow that when they grow up they will band together from anywhere at an instant's notice and protect their dear mother. Here the working man breaks in, yelling as he was expected to: What are you doing to my time? That is a turkey and it is dead.

One moment of your time, the other says. These four brothers grow up (just a moment, I'm only roughing it in) and they do *not* take care of their dear old

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mother, to hell with her. Should we go ahead with it?

Or take the producer who called in two writers and said he had a swell idea for his next picture, let's get to work on it. It is going to be about the army, everybody is now interested in the army. It will be very hot. For a title I got "Tomorrow's Generals." O. K., the writers said, what's the idea for the picture? The producer looked at them shaking his head. Didn't I just give you the idea, boys? It makes a swell script, what's wrong?

It is the same with the fine crews on the sets, people remembering for others the time the tame tiger got loose on stage fourteen and sent everybody climbing up the parallels, and it turned out to be some kind of climbing tiger and I think was only deterred by someone's dropping a 2,000-watt arc in its face, wires and all; or the time the black-snake got too curious and dropped into the wind machine; or (a favorite at RKO) don't leave that dolly outside the door while you're shifting the camera, Paramount will be over the back fence and cabbage it. Or over in the semi-dark of a stage where they are dressing a huge outdoor set, with real trees, a low hill built up, a pond with a summer house—and all around two sides a painted backing of unbleached muslin, sized on the reverse, stretching up into the shadows without a wrinkle.

The old-timer they call Blackie is working on this—part of it is ocean and part rolling land, and this much is already completed. He is now painting in trees and highlights, working on wheeled platforms and high stepladders. "Look at him," one of the men says, seeing people looking at him as indeed they might be, for he sweeps down delicate willow branches with no stencil and a number thirty house-painter's brush, sure and swiftly. "A loafer. Might as well save the lights—will you take a hinge at the black he is putting on there?"

Blackie looks down, dipping his brush. "Again," he says, and nods sadly. "We had it all out last year; now again."

"Either it's black or it's so light the camera won't pick up," the man says. "The picture will lose money."

Blackie paints three feet of foliage and looks over to where the man is working at some shrubs, wiring flowers to them. "Well look at what he is doing now," Blackie says. "What is it, magnolias? Magnolias, he's putting them onto them god-damn scrub oaks. This is no life for an honest man, I shouldn't of come."

Everything seems leisurely, but only seems so. A rosebush is grown across the front of the main house as you watch, and blossoms into a couple of hundred crepe flowers, for the men talk with their mouths, not their hands. It will be quiet, too, for a half-hour, each one seemingly alone with his serious game of landscaping as trucks back through the big doors of stage five filled with bushes and branches and whole trees, and the working lights look down from the high parallels.

Then it will start up again, the endless reminiscence and jibing of the workshop. "I knew a guy hung bananas on one of these here big rosebushes," one of they says. "He had the bananas anyway and he was dressing the set."

"Who did? You're crazy," Blackie calls over.

"It was some kind of a bush; he had grapefruits too. That was Wheelwright and we were—"

"Oh, Wheelwright," Blackie says. "Say no more. Wheelwright is enough," he says and climbs down to look at his tree.

"Had about five crates of fruit and one orange tree," the man goes on, "so when we wire on the oranges we put on apples. I tried to stop him but he put grapefruits too. Then he put the bananas on this big old bush we had. Maybe it wasn't a rosebush."

"Wheelwright," Blackie says, and spits. "Nature's nobleman: he'd do anything. Put an ad in the papers for art-school kids. Use their sketches, teach them the business as if he knew it, never pay them. Wheelwright. Now what the hell are you doing with that wisteria? Putting it in the middle of the cement walk? It's no life here."

It is not funny when you get shoved around or squeezed out by some broken-down brass front like the special yes-man for Mister Zee, whose main chore to get his name in credit titles is a routine of laughing for which words are inadequate. Mister Zee has brought a pall of gloom over the story conference by saying (with a pause), Hm, very warm for May. Somebody has got to laugh here, and the yes-man comes on: first the look of disbelief, then the wind-up and spasm and *blast* of laughter, the doubling down to his right leg and then up to slap it, the helpless gasp and appeal to the company and pointing with repeated full-shoulder motion, "But *get* that guy!" The subsiding shake and wiping of eyes. He's in. And too many people are shoved and squeezed by just such. The humor of the situations they get into with the kind of assignments they have to take when they can get them is wry at best.

There is a producer I love, at a distance. He has an idea that if he can promote $400, a script and a pocket kodak, he can make a picture in a barn somewhere. So he calls up Benny to come down to the packing case which is an office because there are paper clips on the desk. He wants a remake of Rex Beach's "The Ne'er Do Well," which impressed him strongly in his youth. It was about the construction of the Panama Canal and very hot stuff at the time it came out, which was the time of the construction of the Panama Canal (for those days it was probably a rich man's "For Whom the Bell Tolls"). I want you to modernize, Benny, he said, pronouncing the first syllable of the word like the name Moe. And we got to leave these politics out, you are a smart writer. Moe-dernize is the word. So Benny thought fast and said, it can't be Panama then. Let's make it something like—how about the sugar planta-

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tions in Hawaii? We open on sugar cane, the cutting, hauling to mill, grinding, juice, sugar, all that color stuff. No politics, but native, see it?

The producer began to get the vivid picture of the sugar cane being picked off the palm trees in the colorful tropics and said terrific. Moe-dernize it, that is the angle. And no politics.

Well Benny did the script with another fellow, jiggered the story all around and fitted it out for recommissioning. Turned it in. Waited.

But when Benny was called in a few days later, the producer was shaking his head. Uh-uh. Somehow, Benny, you've lost the *flavor* of it. The flavor doesn't hit me. This scene here, this. . . . His voice trailed off and he shuffled pages and finally came out with it. The scene he had read, or had read *to* him more likely, wasn't even like in the book. The original flavor. . . .

So Benny went back over the points for him, giving them to him slowly: (1) the scene referred to was politics, which had to be out; (2) it couldn't be about building a canal because they didn't have one in Hawaii; (3) it couldn't be Panama because there wasn't anything there *but* canal.

I'll think over what you say, said the producer.

Next day he called the writer in and he had the answer worked out. Maybe you better just forget about it, Benny, he said. I see what's your difficulty for what I had in mind. Benny, he said in a kindly way. You made the mistake working too close to the book.

And sometimes a big producer can manage to remain powerless because he wants to remain powerful, and someone is putting the heat on from outside. This one is quite a sparkplug of a producer and he likes liberal things now and then, or likes to think about them, because only look, he went to a college. He has bought a book that is high in contemporary esteem and best-seller lists, and has put a young man of talent and intelligence to work on it (the young man up to now has mostly been working either on horrors or for the shelf). The script is worked over carefully, to get some meaning out of it and keep it a picture, by him and as I remember others: they look it all over finally and they have something. The producer looks it all over and says, boys, you have really got something. Now we'll just get the Hays Office, a routine matter. . . . Into production immediately in time for the oscars.

But hm, what is this? The Office is acting a little strangely, and cannot guarantee an okay until the picture is made and screened before it in the usual way. Perhaps there is a hint? Or perhaps. Well some expense, producing a picture. And if. And the script goes on the shelf. And that is all of the episode period.

Or there is the frequent happening that can happen to anybody: the fellow who made a good picture, the front office got scared, the salesmen and exhibitors got scared. The picture was hush-hushed, released but as though from a stretch in Dannemora, and so there runs a scare and shrinking away through the press departments and critics (you can for the most part shake them all up in a hat and I wish you would). And later when the fellow's name comes up, so do the eyebrows, and they say sure, sure, nice fellow but what's he *made?*

This leads into another thing that should be said before we wind up with the more striking trivia that can be used to set picture-making apart as a sequence in waxworks. Human nature works out the same way in Hollywood that it works out anywhere else, but it works out under a peculiar pressure that is not usually felt outside of the various hidden communities of show business. Wherever people are succeeding and failing in the same breath, there is always an air of impermanence in relations, and your bosom friend of today may forget the name by tomorrow—on the other hand, you may do some fast forgetting yourself, because he may be broke. Hollywood as a society is just about completely made up of success and failure, and the whirl is so giddy that the question, "Where are you working now?" may be taken as just the inspection through the peepholes of the old speak, as meaning, "*Are* you working?" In all such frank struggles for existence, the main rule is never kick a man when he is up.

So if you are out of work and represent no proud and potent interests, if you need something or are lost, don't look back to people you may have been glad to know when you knew them when. The streets are lined with chaps who could buttonhole you and say, "You see that big high-blood-pressure getting out of the new Packard there? We were like *that* for three years; I boarded him. But did you catch him passing me a full eighteen inches away? See me? Listen, he'll see me *strictly* if I drop on his head from a six-story window, not until. And what will it be then? It will be, Why, Eddie, you rat, I been trying to get you for *two weeks* like crazy, well, be seeing you around, sweetheart—and he will duck into the car, me laying there."

Never mistake that hovering over the whole town, though not so evident in the pleasant air as the satires make out, is a special type of fear, a compound of being got wrong, of laying two eggs in the same basket, of slipping back and down and out. It isn't fairyland but it is that dangerous place where fairyland is on a production line at a cost of billions of dollars, and where all the concealable petty struggling of a quieter life is stepped up in speed, time and tonal volume. Good people can abound in this atmosphere of a desperate need for front, as much as they can abound anywhere. But here the pressure and the danger are so constantly at elbow that the climbers and bogus biggies are carried beyond themselves to become people of outlandish shapes and menace.

OTIS FERGUSON

This is the fourth of a series of Hollywood articles under the general title "To the Promissory Land." – THE EDITORS

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Washington Notes

Labor Leadership Sitdown

LABOR DAY has become the time when people with enough money and leisure to go away for the summer come home for the winter. Few of these people are laborers. To labor itself the holiday provides a long week-end and an occasion for its leaders to make speeches. These run to pious platitude. This year's batch was no exception, much as the situation cried out for serious soul-searching.

President Phil Murray's statement, issued from his sickbed in Pittsburgh, was fairly typical. He pointed with justified pride to the year's achievements—organization of Bethlehem and Ford, $800,000,000 in annual wage increases for CIO members alone, tremendous membership gains and improved working conditions. But he warned that labor, for all its gains, may find itself painfully squeezed between rising living costs on one hand and heavy taxation on the other. Then he complained that organized labor has not been taken into the defense organization as a full partner with industry and government.

"We have shown," he said, "that labor has the brains and the public spirit to take its place as a responsible participant in the national-defense effort. As yet, labor's offer of effective participation has not been accepted. We will not cease, however, in our determined effort to see that labor takes its rightful place."

It would be a kindness to doubt that Murray compounded this eyewash himself, but he probably did. The CIO, or at least dominant elements in it, has demonstrated neither public spirit nor responsibility in the national-defense emergency and no one knows this better than Murray. Indeed, he admits as much by implication when he blames its failure to coöperate on the administration's alleged refusal to accept an offer of "effective participation." What he refers to is the administration's refusal to accept his own pet industry-committee plan—a scheme of doubtful practicability that has been kept alive to embarrass Sidney Hillman, labor's representative in the defense set-up, and thus to feed John L. Lewis' anti-administration, isolationist fires.

Under the baleful influence of Lewis and his Communist friends, the CIO not only failed to support the defense effort through most of the year ending with Labor Day but was caught red-handed on several occasions deliberately obstructing it. The most conspicuous example of obstruction was the outlaw strike at Inglewood. Murray got a denunciation of this strike on the record, to be sure, but when it came to punishing Lew Michener, the man primarily responsible for it, he apparently approved a deal letting the outlaw leader off with a slap on the wrist. The deal was put over at the Buffalo convention of the United Automobile Workers by Allan Haywood, Lewis' faithful well-poisoner. Michener was temporarily barred from elective office and then appointed assistant to his successor. Richard Frankensteen, who had fought the outlaws, was persuaded to discredit himself by approving the Lewis and Communist-appeasing stratagem.

Those who have clung to the hope (and there are many of them in the CIO) that Murray would lead the organization out of the wilderness are beginning to conclude that he is not so much a Moses as a Pétain. Ever since he succeeded Lewis at Atlantic City, Murray's friends have insisted that he would presently get out of the Lewis shadow, dissociate himself from the Communists by whom he was immediately surrounded and take a hand in the fight against world fascism. Like Pétain, they said, he was doing the best he could in a difficult situation. It appears now either that Murray has no intention of breaking away from Lewis or that his best is not good enough.

The Inglewood strike and its shabby Buffalo aftermath are now history. No recurrence is likely. But the effects of Lewis' continuing interference, Murray's vacillation and Communist two-timing are more serious than mere loss of time due to strike shutdowns. The vigorous young CIO, whose members have more to lose from a spread of Hitlerism than any other segment of the population, should be leading the fight for aid to Britain and Russia and for preparation of the United States. They should be a vital nucleus of support for the President's foreign policy. They should have been that throughout the last year. Instead they are confused, uncertain and a drag on the whole defense effort.

Perhaps it was just as well that their leaders left the important speaking to the President on Labor Day after all. They had nothing much to report on the year's activities that would lift the spirits of any who didn't share in the $800,000,000 of pay increases. And if Murray's worst fears about the forthcoming economic squeeze turn out to be well founded, he can blame himself among others. The people who came home from summer resorts on Monday have a lot of influence with Congress and they and their hangers-on get their way when organized labor is befuddled by its own leadership. Just as they got their way in the Wisconsin congressional election.

The President's latest reorganization of the defense high command was characteristically Rooseveltian. No one was fired. No existing agency was abolished. No one's feelings were hurt. Yet the primary objective—to get rid of John D. Biggers and Edward R. Stettinius, whose failure as administrators of production and priorities had become notorious—was achieved. The new over-all board, dominated by New Dealers, will not supply the one-man control many have thought necessary but it is a distinct improvement over the old set-up. Not only is the personnel more promising but the board will be able to make final decisions which only the President could make before.

Leon Henderson will test his price-fixing powers by trying to enforce his order clamping a $20 base price ceiling on scrap iron. Violators of the order will find it hard to ship their scrap and some of them may even lose their local licenses. Recognizing that the House may refuse to pass a bill broadening his authority, Henderson is determined to make an example of scrap dealers to nail down what power he already has. It is not inconsiderable. While investigating the scrap-iron market, Henderson found that the army and navy were two of the worst violators of his original price order.

Washington T. R. B.

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The Bandwagon

"I'm on the wagon and feeling swell," [Tommy] Manville said. "Of course, Beverley isn't a blonde—she's a redhead—but the war has changed everything, hasn't it?" – *From The Philadelphia Record.*

That the Common Council hereby expresses the willingness of the City of Buffalo to pay the difference between the so-called Okell Street site and the price of the Willert Park extension upon the ground that the Okell Street site is, in the opinion of the Common Council, completely unappropriate for a housing project, because of the residential nature of the district. – *A resolution of the Buffalo Common Council, reported in The Buffalo Evening News.*

A new rental policy makes it possible to enjoy the advantages of River House . . . within ordinary budget limits.

New 6 Rooms from $3,500—Also 9 to 15 Rooms. Simplex, Duplex, Terraces, from $3,700. – *From an advertisement in The New Yorker.*

"Invite the news reporters and cameramen to your meetings," urged Rev. Frank A. Cummings. . . . "And when they come in, give them a show. Let them have something to photograph.

"We talked in tongues and fell on our backs here and they took pictures of that. . . . It was in the papers and people came to see what next. And the next day the Catholics had a meeting and they fell on their stomachs and the papers printed pictures of that. It shows that people can be interested in religion." – *From The Los Angeles Times.*

Dr. Francis H. Higgins' suggestion that doctors lower their fees for the delivery of children in large families is well meant but doesn't get at the heart of the matter. In my opinion, mothers need a more positive reward for their efforts. My idea would be as follows: With your fourth child, a week in New York, all expenses paid, and the services of a full-time maid; fifth child, a month in Hawaii and a laundress; sixth child, six months around the world and the services of a full-time nursemaid; seventh child, the sky's the limit.

Try this system and watch the birth rate rise! – *From a letter signed S. M. H. in The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.*

"Mother wouldn't understand," said the princess (Princess Olga Troubetzkoy), "so I wanted to get this whole business out of the way. The poor lady is distraught enough as it is. She came here [from Paris] because she couldn't get enough milk for her cat." – *From The New York Daily News.*

Some sincere and able observers within the OPM say, however, that they have seen no evidence that the [dollar-a-year] men are consciously attempting to benefit their industries or companies through their operations within the agency. Nevertheless, they say . . . their careers in industry have conditioned their thinking, and sometimes it may be impossible for them to distinguish between the public good and the good of industry. – *AP dispatch from Washington in The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

On Declaring War

Before the publication of our editorial in the August 25 issue recommending an immediate declaration of war, we wrote to all contributors whose names have appeared in our pages since last January 1, asking their views on this subject. We publish below in whole or in part, the second instalment of their replies, in alphabetical order. We have excluded those persons known to us to be non-citizens. – THE EDITORS

SIR: I do not believe that I am in any position to answer the question as to whether or not the country should immediately declare war on Germany. Nor do I believe that any other individual who does not have at his command all the facts public and confidential which come from the State Department and army and navy reports can make this decision. In other words, I believe that Congress and the rest of the nation should be guided in this matter by the decision of President Roosevelt and his immediate advisers.

Tufts College, Mass. LEONARD CARMICHAEL

SIR: The most important issue is the defeat of Hitlerism and the other fascist systems. Whether we should declare war or not at a given moment should be decided solely by considering what is likely to be the step most effective for the main purpose. Only those who have access to all the facts can make a correct decision, but the public should be informed of reasons for, and probable consequences of, all actions by the United States so that all decisions may have the support of the majority of all classes of the public, so that actions taken to fight fascism abroad do not involve setting up a similar system at home.

Upper Darby, Pa. K. A. C. ELLIOTT

SIR: As anyone realizes who tries to use such words as "neutrality," "belligerency," "ally," "treaty," etc., the old definitions of international law no longer hold today. These terms, as we know them, now mean nothing. Similarly, "to declare war" now means nothing.

Under the old definitions the present status of the United States would probably have been described as neutrality benevolent to Great Britain. Actually, however, because wars are now waged on a basis of total mobilization of effectives, we are an active ally of the British. Abroad we wage war on the economic, financial and propaganda fronts; and at home we wage war in our factories, with our resources and with our brains. At the present moment we are the muscles and Britain the fists in the fight to keep the "New Order" from permanently submerging the democratic way of living. But the situation may change at any moment and require us to make use of our own fists. When that time comes, a formal declaration of war will probably be made because we are accustomed to thinking in terms of the old formulas; but it will be important only to ourselves. Under the new definitions we are already at war.

New York City NORMAN BEL GEDDES

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SIR: I am for President Roosevelt's foreign policy. The eight points appeal to me as sound and sensible. I am for getting aid to England and Russia, and using our navy if necessary to ensure passage. I agree that there is both a moral issue and self-interest at stake. I am for a stiff affirmative policy in dealing with Japan. If the chances involved in such a program lead to war, we shall have to make the best of it.

I have some reservations about a more aggressive program. We participated directly in the last war, and then retired in a mood of cynicism while selfish "statesmanship" brought on a new debacle. Perhaps we should do better this time to reverse that role. At any rate, a steady and constructive participation in post-war foreign affairs has become a heavy obligation.

Madison, Wis. HAROLD M. GROVES

SIR: I am for declaring war on Germany at once. We are now doing all that we can to destroy Hitler; but in doing so without a formal declaration of war we are tacitly accepting one of the most poisonous tenets of Hitlerism—that a nation lies under no obligation to pursue the course that an honorable man would be bound to follow.

Baltimore, Md. GERALD W. JOHNSON

SIR: I believe America's entrance into the war would be a tragic mistake, disastrous for ourselves and in the long run unfortunate for Europe.

I think it would be disastrous to ourselves because it would put a final end to the magnificent and promising program of social betterment on which we as a nation have entered since 1932. Because war would let loose untold violence, put an end to sane, idealistic international thinking, and with its fantasia of emotional hallucinations blind us to the real problems which produce a warlike and war-loving world. War is the great escape from the responsibility of thought. Because modern war psychology is fundamentally anti-democratic; witness the red-baiting alike of 1917-20 and of today. In war the last defenses of democracy would perish. It would be years before they could be reconstructed. By way of comparison, witness the painful period, 1920-32.

I believe our entrance into the war would be disastrous for Europe because a war-torn continent, economically prostrated, needs, and will need increasingly, the support and help of one great nation which has preserved its economy of peace and is producing useful things, not destructive ones. Because Europe and Asia will need the advice, friendship and example of one great power which has refused to be stampeded into war, and which will be a living example of a generous, idealistic democracy which works. If America enters this war this opportunity will vanish. Only a nation at peace can be truly international in its generosity, in its ideals, and in its thinking. Because the only hope of a better, more universally just, more creative peace than that of Versailles lies in the influence to be exerted by a strong America, still uninvolved in the strategy, tactics and virulent nationalisms of war. Because no mere military decision will bring more than a truce unless peaceful ideals control the peacemaking.

I am against America's entrance into the war above all because it will broaden the area dominated by hate and violence. The law of cause and effect is broad and definite. Every evil means will produce evil ends, no matter how noble the end sought. America's job is: first, to make its democracy real, and operative, economically as well as politically; second, to help generously where and how it can; third, to use all its power and its brains in trying to find the real causes of totalitarianism and of war itself.

New York City TALBOT HAMLIN

SIR: I am not advocating any course of action with regard to a declaration of war. I shall loyally abide by the decision of the Congress of the United States.

Flushing, N. Y. C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

SIR: I am thoroughly uninterested in this war or any war and what the American people do or do not do about it, I feel, is none of my business.

Hollywood, Calif. HENRY MILLER

SIR: I am opposed to an immediate declaration of war on Germany or the Axis by the United States not because I am opposed to our warring on them to the limit of our ability, but because I believe that our efforts to bring about the overthrow of Hitlerism would be handicapped seriously by such a move.

This country is truly the arsenal of democracy. A large part of the battle for freedom depends upon our ability to supply the democratic forces already in the field with the necessities for action at the front and for living at home. That is our immediate and most important job. Our plants must be kept going full force as long as possible. To divert our energies by the hasty arming of our unprepared forces for duty overseas would be to weaken all those who are working for an Allied victory.

Furthermore, were Congress to debate a declaration of war at this time dissension of a serious nature might very well disturb our present fairly unified domestic scene and give aid and comfort to the Axis powers. Our Wheelers, our Lindberghs, our America-Firsters, our Christian-Fronters and all of their hangers-on would have a field-day. Their blasts today are weak and ineffectual—except to the pro-Nazis.

The very uncertainty of our status, I believe, is a weapon against Hitler. While he republishes the speeches of our "Copperheads" in his journals for home consumption, he knows full well that the aims of the real leaders and the hopes of the masses of people in this country are to bring about his downfall. More ways than one (the battlefield) are necessary to accomplish this. I believe President Roosevelt knows them all and is a master in the art of using them. I am satisfied just now to let him determine the appropriate time for a declaration of war, convinced that when he decides it has arrived he will have the country and the Congress behind him. I doubt if such would be the case today.

New York City LUCILLE B. MILNER

SIR: America is already engaged in an economic and ideational war against the Axis, but a formal declaration of war against Germany or the entire Axis is at this moment an impossibility—apparently Congress would not declare war, apparently the majority of the people do not want such a declaration, and apparently the army is not ready to carry a war policy into action. Yet the American people are preponderantly against Hitler and in favor of the administration's foreign policy. This foreign policy must not stand still, and public support of it must not be allowed to droop. Certain positive actions should be taken, even at serious risk of war—actions which the American Navy is apparently equipped to undertake. If convoying is outmoded, we should use whatever has proved superior in order to safeguard our supplies to the other nations fighting the Axis; now that Vichy is so clearly nazified we should take over French possessions in this hemisphere; we should negotiate for islands like the Azores, seize them if necessary, and—possibly with British help—we should capture and hold Dakar. All this might lead us into a naval war, and into eventual military participation. To recommend decisive actions while at the same time recognizing that the American people do not want war declared is no more paradoxical than the reluctant-unreluctant attitude of the

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people themselves; but to go forward as a people, to continue existing with the hope of better possibilities ahead, we must meet or even anticipate events. And any physical action must be accompanied by ideational action to counteract the backward-pulling forces in our midst, such as the isolationists who are so loud in the land. They must be combatted by a more vigorous and more logical campaign than has yet been waged against them, so that they will not help to make this country fall apart as France did.

Winnetka, Ill. HARRY THORNTON MOORE

SIR: Before considering the question of what we *should* do, we must first consider what we *can* do. I don't believe we can declare war on Germany immediately because Americans are neither psychologically prepared for total war—the only kind that will help—nor equipped with men and materials to fight it.

If our government wants to rid America of psychological unpreparedness, it must go "all-out" on propaganda. To declare war before we are psychologically ready would lead to a serious muddle here and abroad. Isn't it better to be a swiftly growing hope than an inefficient actuality?

To declare war before we are ready with men and materials would put us at a distinct military disadvantage. The Nazis would sink the ships they have been sparing because of their faint hope of keeping us neutral, and would seize those bases needed by us to secure a foothold in Europe or Africa. Also, we would be *choosing* a predicament which was *forced* upon the English: the necessity of landing small, poorly equipped expeditionary forces which would have to be withdrawn.

When we declare war it should be done with the idea of going in to win, not just going in to keep from losing.

Blacksburg, Va. PRESTON NEWMAN

SIR: My answer is an emphatic Yes. There is, however, a subtle but important distinction which those who wish to lead in the formation of public opinion on this decisive question need to keep firmly in mind. It is the distinction between whether the President should now call for a declaration of war and whether the citizen stands ready to support such a declaration if called for. Clearly, the considerations on which the President should rest his decision are not quite the same as those which should influence the voter in coming to his. To the President a declaration of war is but one move in a grand strategy played on a worldwide checkerboard. His every move necessarily depends on the balance of military, economic and moral forces, an exact disposition of which cannot be fully known to the public. For the defeat of Hitlerism a declaration of war by the United States is not a necessary condition. What is necessary is that pressure against the Axis be steadily increased until it becomes overwhelming. To this end the President must have freedom of maneuver so as to make the most advantageous use of the forces at his command. So long as the people of the United States are not prepared for the full military commitment implied in a declaration of war, the President will be limited to less advantageous moves. I therefore believe that the editors, contributors and readers of The New Republic should lead in the creation of a public opinion ready to support the President in an immediate declaration of war.

Cornwall Bridge, Conn. JOHN DE WITT NORTON

SIR: I am for all aid to countries fighting Hitler, short of war. I agree with your premise that we are trying to achieve the permanent overthrow of Hitlerism. But not at all costs. Not at the cost of another AEF.

Russia and Britain are doing too well, and the immediate danger to us is too remote to justify our entry into the war. It's easy to talk about the moral obligation we owe to the Allies whom we have promised to aid. But we are aiding them to the extent of our promise. And we also owe an obligation to the people of this country, who in the last election, voted for a President who promised to keep us out of war.

To aid in the defeat of Hitler, I think we should proceed along the lines of our present effort.

Arlington, Va. LESTER NURICK

SIR: My instinct is for an immediate declaration of war on Germany; war against the other Axis Powers should be a question for army and navy men to decide with the advice of other branches of the government in terms of the effect on our struggle with the chief enemy. I believe the American people will quickly unite behind the government when once we are at war. Also to be weighed against delay is the certain increase in our producing of munitions, etc., once a state of war is declared.

Brewster, N. Y. WALTER PACH

SIR: *To save democracy for the world*—not to make the world safe for democracy—is now our only possible motto.

We must fight, the sooner the better, because, unfortunately, only the spilling of American blood will arouse us to giant wrath, to an all-out effort to mobilize our massive resources and manpower, to gear up and unify our war production to the most decisive degree.

To enable us to act most expediently and vitally, our ponderously working Congress, with its political prejudices and cross-purposes, should grant Roosevelt unlimited powers of emergency to counsel and guide us. Without fear, we can trust our President with such great powers even to the temporary suspending or curtailing of those democratic rights that are dangerously impeding our preparedness program and even to the gagging of those isolationist Congressmen and the Lindbergh appeasers who are no less than licensed saboteurs and loud-speaking informers for the enemy.

Further, we must realize that our geographic and national isolation became forever obsolete in 1917, that we are now an integral part of the whole world and its affairs, and that our battle-frontiers are wherever armies are fighting their fight and our fight against Hitlerism.

Portland, Ore. CONRAD PENDLETON

SIR: My answer to your question whether the United States should declare war now is no. The case against such a revision of our military status at the moment seems to me to be basically this: If we declare war on Germany we would be faced with the unpleasant need of choosing either to appease Japan (*i. e.*, not forcing the issue of supplies to China and Russia) or to take the necessary steps to keep these supply lines open in the face of Japanese opposition. If we chose appeasement, we would obviously be sacrificing the requirements of the most active and hopeful anti-fascist fronts. If we chose non-appeasement, we would have to divert to our own uses many supplies that might better be used in China and Russia. In addition, if the last war affords a useful parallel, the period immediately following a declaration of war would be one in which our main productive energies would be devoted to the equipment of American forces.

For the moment at least the United States is in a good position to make a maximum contribution without a declaration of war. The supply line to Britain has cooled off considerably due to German preoccupations in Russia. The stern attitude of the United States, Britain, Russia and the Netherlands Indies toward Japan gives promise of keeping lines to the Orient open without warfare. There would seem to be no point in deliberately terminating these present advantages.

According to these views, a declaration of war would reduce the amount of material which we are able to deliver to

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the most concentrated areas of resistance to the Axis; other considerations are less important for the present. But I might add that our status as a belligerent does not impress me as a prerequisite to our effectiveness in the war or in the peace. Our economic power guarantees us just as broad a role in either as we care to assume, and our moral responsibility is to use that power as effectively as possible. As long as we do that, there is no problem of "moral ambiguity."

New York City JUDD POLK

SIR: I am strongly in favor of an immediate declaration of war, if there is a plausible motive for it, and I consider as a plausible motive not the torpedoing of a new Lusitania or the killing of some American nurses, but military actions of the Axis by which the strategic situation of the United States is endangered. It is, in my opinion, necessary to shoot, if Germany attacks, or occupies, points like Dakar, Gibraltar, Suez and, of course, Ireland and England. Whether or not there will be, in the near future, a situation which will oblige the United States to shoot, it should be brought home to the American public that Hitler cannot be defeated by words, but only by action and by more action and, of course, by courage.

Princeton, N. J. STEFAN POSSONY

SIR: Our people are so constituted that it is extremely difficult to train a mass army, such as we must have without any prospect of immediate action. If war were declared now our army could conceivably obtain that degree of training and that fighting edge which would enable it to become a powerful factor in the struggle when it is needed, some time in 1942. Without such a declaration it seems to me that the attainment of a high degree of skill on the part of our army is impossible before another two years—perhaps longer. This will inevitably delay the date at which the war can be brought to a conclusion.

The arguments against war seem to me of small value. If the American people are not yet ready for such a step the suggestion will at least help to make them ready and I cannot conceive how anything like the united effort could be secured from the American people without the formal declaration.

New York City FLETCHER PRATT

SIR: I frankly am opposed to the United States declaring war on Germany or on the Axis at this time. In the first place we are not ready, but more important than this I do not see anything to be gained by our actively entering the war, but on the contrary feel that participating in active war hostilities would make the post-war adjustments, which must be made, more difficult to make rather than easier.

The economic, social and psychological changes through which a nation passes when it actually enters into and executes a modern war make a reasonable peace and the attainment of sound post-war adjustments more unlikely and more difficult than if actual warfare were prevented. We participated in the last war on the grounds that by such participation we would play a more pronounced role in writing the terms of peace and establishing world order in the post-war period. However, we discovered that the hatreds and the economic and social unbalance which had been created during the struggle made it impossible for us to unify our people at home after the Armistice and to play a strong and satisfactory role in the post-war decades.

We might find our own back door wide ajar if we now proceed with active hostilities in Europe thousands of miles from our home bases of supply. While we are helping England with our industrial and agricultural products we should devote most of our effort to building up a powerful unified nation at home and a solid front or defense line in and around South America. Until we have accomplished more in this latter direction we are in no position effectively to execute actual hostilities in Europe.

Montana State College, Bozeman, Mont. R. R. RENNE

SIR: If the overthrow of Hitlerism were the objective of all of us, there would be no need to debate whether we should or should not declare war, and Hitlerism would long since have staggered. No doubt, "most of us" dislike Hitlerism; but our real objectives are such private interests as holding jobs, living in comfort, etc.; and the permanent overthrow of Hitlerism is our objective only in proportion to its threat against these interests—or to the degree to which antagonism toward Hitlerism appears profitable to ourselves. A better question would be "Do you think the declaration of war would make the destruction of Hitlerism our general objective?"

New York City PAUL ROSENFELD

SIR: The defeat of Hitler is worth fighting for. There are very few Americans who really believe the opposite. Most of those who say they do, only mean that they are willing to take a chance on leaving other countries to do the fighting. This seems to me a mean and desperate gamble; there is less risk, I think, in joining the fight against Hitler than in staying out and hoping that someone else can and will defeat him.

When is the best time, then, to fight? The answer seems to be *now*, when we have the best chance to win. Will there be any future time when the total striking force that can be mobilized against Germany will be as great, or anywhere nearly as great, as it is today? If the United States and Britain are too weak to defeat Germany while Russia is in full action, how strong will we have to be to win, if the time should come when there is no Eastern Front, and perhaps no Britain either?

I do not think that we ought to try to sneak up on this issue, a little at a time. There is a very fair chance that while we are sneaking along so cleverly, the Germans will win the fight. The only hope that I can see of getting immediate action with all the forces that we have, is to begin with a declaration of war. But however we begin, let's do it now—at the time that Hitler would *not* choose.

New York City GEROID TANQUARY ROBINSON

Two Letters from Readers

SIR: Your editorial for a declaration of war against the Axis powers is as forthright as the present situation demands: a logical culmination of the policy you have been building up during the past year. As an opponent of The New Republic's earlier attitude on the issues of war and peace, permit me to congratulate you, without reserve, on your admirable statement. The notion that the United States can *buy* its way out of danger and disaster, without having the courage to fight shoulder to shoulder with those who are on the battle-line, is contemptible; and the results of following such a policy would be fatal to us as a nation, even if by some ironic miracle we should emerge from such a situation without an immediate loss of life or limb. At present the United States is actively involved in the war; but Congress and the President himself still refuse to call our actions by the right name; and since they are unwilling to declare our intentions openly, they are unable to prosecute our attack upon Hitler effectively. We face the Nazis with our eyes half-bandaged, our mouths muzzled, our hands tied behind our back; yet we wonder that our legs are paralyzed and our feet wander aimlessly in circles. Before our country can act vigorously, we must *say the word*. That word is what the Axis fears more than all the troops and planes we could land in Europe before next year: for it would be the sure signal for their defeat. *The word for our present state is war;* and once we dare to utter it, the log-jam that has stalled our military preparations

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and made our diplomacy so mischievously ineffective will be broken. The New Republic has performed a service in putting the case with such clarity and reason.

Amenia, N. Y. LEWIS MUMFORD

SIR: Whether or not the United States ought to declare war is a false issue. Indeed, to put the issue of "war" squarely before Congress would be the height of folly. What we need is *action*, not declarations. The close vote on the draft-extension bill indicates that the legislature would overwhelmingly reject any proposal authorizing the use of our armed forces on the European continent. It is not difficult to imagine what effect such an action would have upon the morale and spirit of the British and Russian peoples. A measure to declare war would precipitate a national debate which would not only undermine American unity but would also interfere with our *present* efforts to aid those nations now engaged in combat with Nazi forces. Even if the war declaration were approved, it is probable that several weeks—perhaps months—would intervene between the time of the President's message and the time of the final approval. Thus, the Axis powers would benefit from a prolonged period of American inaction, and the Nazi armies could move into strategic positions while the congressmen argue. Until the people are willing to support it, let's avoid a declaration of war.

PAUL BULLOCK JR.

South Pasadena, Calif. Age Sixteen

The Other Mr. Phillips

SIR: My attention has just been called to an editorial entitled "The New Lincoln" appearing in your issue of June 23, 1941, which has definitely injured my reputation in the eyes of readers who do not know that I, as the organizer of the Phillips Petroleum Company in the year 1917, have been its president from that time until two years ago when I became chairman and my then assistant, Mr. K. S. Adams, became its president; who do not know that Phillips Petroleum Company has never gone through bankruptcy proceedings, and has always been and is today a sound industrial institution; who do not know that the present Governor of Oklahoma has never sustained any relationship of any kind with the Phillips Petroleum Company, is not my kinsman, and has rarely if ever had any business or social relations with me.

In the course of your editorial, devoted to a refutation of a column written by Hugh Johnson in praise of Governor Phillips, you say, after identifying him as the former president of Phillips Petroleum Company, that "the new Lincoln delivered a labor-baiting, strike-breaking tirade so wild that even Johnson seemed unable to stomach it at the time." This statement is injurious to me because, as former president of Phillips Petroleum Company and as its present chairman, I have labored constantly to maintain cordial relations with my employees, who constitute a part of the group commonly referred to as labor.

You also say "even if Phillips slept in a frock coat and stovepipe hat we believe that it would still be a poor disguise for one of the most reactionary politicians in America." This statement has done and will continue to do me positive harm because it is calculated to vitiate my efforts to sustain satisfactory relations with the American public.

You further say of Phillips "when he took office he slashed all school budgets in Oklahoma in order to reduce the taxes of the wealthy oil and utility interests which elected him." This statement destroys my influence, both with the public and as an employer of labor.

You further say "as president of the Phillips Petroleum Company, Phillips twice went through bankruptcy proceedings and emerged under something of a cloud." To say the least, this does not impute to me the standards of morality to which I strive to adhere and does impair my influence in every conceivable way.

In this same editorial you describe the activities of Phillips (referred to therein as the former president of Phillips Petroleum Company) in calling out the militia to prevent the completion of the Red River and Grand River power projects, beneficial to the Oklahoma farmers but inimical to the public utilities; in calling out the militia to break the Mid-Continent Oil Company strike in Tulsa in 1939; and finally you say that "under Phillips Oklahoma has one of the blackest records of any state for violation of civil rights."

Bartlesville, Okla. FRANK PHILLIPS

[Our editorial of course made no mention whatever of Mr. Frank Phillips. It referred exclusively to Governor Leon Phillips of Oklahoma. The fact that Governor Phillips was not connected with the Phillips Petroleum Company has already been recorded in our columns, in the issue of August 4. – THE EDITORS]

Reuben Maury Replies

SIR: I am surprised and pleased to find that The New Republic considers me worth a two-page centerfold blast from my friend George Britt. I didn't think I was that important; and, 'struth, I still don't. However, since The New Republic thinks otherwise, I wonder if it would allow me to state in its columns that, despite the objections of George and assorted godsakers and perfectionists, I feel I must insist, God and sundry editors and publishers willing, on continuing to be a professional writing man instead of an amateur or dilettante. And now, couldn't we drop this subject of R. Maury and turn to more interesting topics? The fellow has frequently bored me, and, I don't doubt, a lot of other people.

New York City REUBEN MAURY

From The New Republic Mail Bag

In reply to George Randall of New York City, and the many who have applauded the editorial "For a Declaration of War" (The New Republic, August 25), the full text may be reproduced, with proper credit, without charge or copyright infringement. . . . Roy Peel of Bloomington, Indiana, who also liked our editorial, believes an AEF should occupy Norway, thereby "releasing" Finland and giving Sweden reason to join the Allies, and should also occupy Spain and Portugal, recovering France for the Allies, and permitting the British to "clean up the Mediterranean."

Sergius Vernet of Yellow Springs, Ohio, compliments Max Werner on his consistently accurate analyses of the Russo-German war in our issues of July 7 and 28, and August 18 and 25. "I am convinced," Mr. Vernet writes, "that [Werner] has a much sounder knowledge of military affairs than the type of 'expert' who has been given too much space in our popular publications. It begins to look as though The New Republic's earlier criticism of Mr. Werner's optimism was not well founded." . . . Virgil McCarty of Springfield, Vermont, takes The New Republic to task for what he considers its anti-Soviet attitude in recent years. He thinks that with the Russo-German war we shall discover that "Russia is nowhere the terrible place you have pictured it to be, and that Nazi Germany is ten times worse."

A former internal-revenue agent in Omaha, Nebraska, writes to protest The New Republic's support (August 11) of the elimination of the mandatory joint return. "Those who have most strongly opposed this provision," he writes, "are those with large incomes who have effected a diversion of ownership or those who cater to the wishes of the wealthy. This [is another indication that] the failure of America is due to leaders who put their personal financial advantage ahead of the general good."

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Books in Review

The Triumphant Lie

HITLER at the age of fifty-two has addressed more words to more people than any other orator in history. At first he spoke only to beer-hall patriots in Munich, but later he was heard by the whole German nation, and finally his audience was the world at large, fearfully listening to the radio or poring over its morning newspapers. He has made about 500 speeches, of which roughly a third have been printed in some form; very few of them were short and some took three or four hours to deliver. From this mass of material as big as several Bibles, enough passages have now been selected to fill a book of a thousand pages. The editor and commentator is Raoul de Roussy de Sales, a French journalist who knows his subject and writes good English. His aim is to provide a sequel to "Mein Kampf."

But although "My New Order"[1] is printed in the same format, and published at the same low price, it does not give the same value. "Mein Kampf" is a confession of Hitler's faith, a surprisingly candid statement of the program he would follow until France fell, and a veiled prophecy of the wider program he is following today. "My New Order" confesses nothing, states nothing candidly, and most of its prophecies are deliberate lies. "Mein Kampf" is a book complete in itself, which has to be read by historians and ought to be read by every citizen. "My New Order" falls somewhere between these two audiences, the specialized and the general. Historians are already complaining that it fails to include many passages they regard as essential. For the public, however, it is much too long and repetitious. Few will struggle to the end of it, and those who do may find that they have lost more than they have learned.

In Chapter VI of "Mein Kampf," Hitler explains his four great principles of propaganda. First, it should have nothing to do with beauty or humanity; it should by preference be ugly and brutal. Second, disregarding the intellectuals, it must appeal "forever and only to the masses." Third, it must confine itself to a very few points and repeat them eternally. Fourth and last, it must stress only its own message, paying no attention to universal truth (and indeed, so Hitler said in another place, the bigger the lie, the more likely it is to carry conviction). "My New Order" consists of the speeches that are Hitler's propaganda in action—ugly, brutal, one-sided, appealing to the herd instincts and eternally repeating the same lies. And these speeches merit one other adjective: "effective." They may even end by corrupting the minds of American readers who recognize their falsehoods and detest everything that Hitler stands for.

I don't know why it is that liberals invariably describe him as a clumsy speaker. Roussy de Sales follows the accepted convention, pointing out that Hitler's vocabulary is vulgar, his sentence structure obscure, his chain of thought illogical; and justifying an inaccurate translation by saying that it is at least better than the original. More than this, the editor insists that Hitler is regarded as a great speaker only because his German audience is stupid and unused to real eloquence. At this point it seems to me that he is talking nonsense. Hitler is an effective speaker judged by the standards of any nation. Some of his long addresses are models of logical structure and vigorous if not grammatical expression; it is his premises that are mistaken and his promises that are deliberately misleading.

From the moment when he assumed office, Hitler has lied about his intentions toward every country in Europe. Most of the quotations have been given before, but on Hitler's own theory of eternal reiteration they ought to be given again. "Germany," he said in 1933, "wants peace and nothing but peace."—"Our boundless love for and loyalty to our own national traditions makes us respect the national claims of others and makes us desire from the bottom of our hearts to live with them in peace and friendship." In 1934, he said that the Saar Valley was "the only territorial question still open" between Germany and France. "After it has been settled, the German government is ready to accept not only the letter but also the spirit of the Locarno Pact," which he was already planning to denounce. "I must emphatically reject the further assertion of the Austrian government that any attack on the part of the Reich against the Austrian state will be undertaken or even planned." In 1935, "The German government is ready to take an active part in all efforts which may lead to a practical limitation of boundless armaments." In 1936, "We have no territorial demands to make in Europe." In 1937, "The German government has assured Belgium and Holland of its readiness to recognize and guarantee these states as untouchable and neutral regions for all time." In 1938, "To all the states bordering on our frontiers we have given assurances of the inviolability of their territory so far as Germany is concerned. These are no mere words. That is our solemn declaration."—"With one country alone we have scorned to enter into relations. That state is Soviet Russia."—"And now before us stands the last problem that must be solved and will be solved. It is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe."

In the year 1939, Hitler reached what was even for him a climax of falsehood. On January 30, he said, "We have just celebrated the fifth anniversary of the conclusion of our non-aggression pact with Poland. There can scarcely be any difference of opinion today among the true friends of peace with regard to the value of this agreement." The truth was that the agreement had already been broken by Hitler's demand for territorial concessions. On April 28, "Germany regards the Baltic states as one of its most important trade partners. And for this reason, it is in our interest that these countries should lead an independent, ordered national life of their own." He would shortly surrender them to Stalin. On September 1, he said that Ger-

[1] My New Order: Speeches by Adolf Hitler, edited with a commentary by Raoul de Roussy de Sales. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1,023 pages. $1.89.

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many and Russia "have therefore resolved to conclude a pact which rules out forever any use of violence between us." On October 6, "We have concluded a non-aggression pact with Denmark. Our relations with that country are thus directed toward unswervingly loyal and friendly coöperation."—"I informed Yugoslavia that the frontier in common with that country would henceforth be regarded as unalterable by Germany."—"My chief endeavor has been to rid our relations with France of all trace of ill will."—"At no time and in no place have I ever acted contrary to British interests."

It was in this same speech that Hitler said, "I personally take exception at seeing foreign statesmen stand up and call me guilty of having broken my word." And even last June, on invading Russia, he proclaimed, "When the German Reich gives a guarantee, that means it also abides by it." He has no sense whatever of having told a single falsehood.

That is the extraordinary feature of Hitler's mind and of his speeches: his ability to lie without the consciousness of wrongdoing and indeed with all the conviction that other men devote to eternal truths. And that too is the reason why the present volume should not have been published for the general American audience. We are simply not equipped to handle lies of this sort. We are taught to believe that every man is at least trying to tell the truth, and that we should try to understand his point of view. The result is that no matter how critically we read Hitler's speeches, they are likely to leave a residue of poison in our minds—the vague impression that *perhaps* Germany is only demanding her rights, that *perhaps* the British Empire is as bad as the Third Reich, that *perhaps* the Jews are to blame for everything and ought to be suppressed. And even if we escape these dangers, we are likely to emerge from our reading with a lessened faith in human nature and in the power of universal truth. For the first time we have been forced to admit that it can be outshouted and overwhelmed by universal falsehood.

MALCOLM COWLEY

The Best Critic of Her Day?

The Writings of Margaret Fuller, edited by Mason Wade. New York: The Viking Press. 619 pages. $5.

THE LIMITATION of Mason Wade's recent biography of Margaret Fuller was that it gave hardly any living sense of her ideas or of the cultural ferment of which she was part. Though his subtitle was "the whetstone of genius," his mildly popular account failed to show wherein she performed that function. But now, by making available a comprehensive selection of her works, he has presented the evidence upon which the reader can judge for himself. He has included the bulk of "Summer on the Lakes" (1844) and "Woman in the Nineteenth Century" (1845). The first of these books, opening with Margaret's approbation of Niagara as "the one object in the world that would not disappoint," belongs to the same genre of travel books as Thoreau's "Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers," a genre which demanded his concentrated genius to salvage it from mere passing interest. Her tract on "the sphere, condition and duties of woman," was, as Mr. Wade notes, "a landmark in the history of feminism," but its style is no less turgid than ardent, and makes the point that her friends were always repeating, how she was much more brilliant in conversation than in print. Her essays from Europe on Italy and the Roman Revolution (1848-49) reveal her growth in conviction and clarity. She was disgusted with the way that most of the American art colony failed to make any contact with the life around them, and after risking her life in months of activity for the revolutionary cause, she declared, shortly before sailing for home on her fateful voyage: "I have become an enthusiastic Socialist; elsewhere is no comfort, no solution for the problems of the times."

This declaration of faith is from one of the two dozen previously unpublished letters that the editor has found. But the heart of the volume, as of Margaret Fuller's work, is her criticism. Mr. Wade has sensibly limited his selection to her discussion of literature, since her essays on painting and sculpture, though of great value in awaking her New England contemporaries to richer resources than their ancestors had permitted, are more full of emotion than light, as is her imaginary letter to Beethoven. Many of her tastes ran parallel to Emerson's, especially her devotion to the metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century, as witnessed by her dialogue between George Herbert and his brother, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. But her appreciation of art was more inclusive than that of any of the Concord philosophers. She said that the three authors who had most impressed her early youth were Shakespeare, Cervantes and Molière, and they had prepared her to find Dr. Channing, however noble in his thought, "not well acquainted with man on the impulsive and passionate side of his nature." Such passion and impulse were what she celebrated in Goethe against the strictures of more timid ministers. Against the objections that he was "not an idealist," she answered proudly, in the preface to her translation of his conversations with Eckermann, that Goethe "thought not so much of what might be as what is. He did not seek to alter or exalt Nature, but merely to select from her rich stores."

Her own refusal to fall into the most common error of her surroundings, the mistaking of idealism for art, gave penetration and solidity to many of the judgments in her long essay on the prospects of American literature (1846). She recognized both the subtle beauty and the insubstantiality of Emerson's poetry. She had no doubts, even before "The Scarlet Letter," that Hawthorne was "the best writer of the day." She could see quite through the enormous vogue of Longfellow: his ethical reflections had "a hollow, second-hand" ring, but his elegance and sweetness, though "imitative" were not "mechanical," and "if not allowed to supersede what is better, may promote a taste for good poetry." And her few observations on Lowell were definitive: "His interest in the moral questions of the day has supplied the want of vitality in himself; his great facility at versification has enabled him to fill the ear with a copious stream of pleasant sound. But his verse is stereotyped; his thoughts sound no depth; and posterity will not remember him." Even when Margaret Fuller loses this incisiveness in her many rhapsodic flights or in the hastily written pages of the transcendental hack-writer, she gives the sense that she is fulfilling a major obligation of the critic, in that she possesses what she had responded to in her masters, their "deep and steady sympathy with all that is human."

F. O. MATTHIESSEN

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Sime

Lord Broadway, by Dayton Stoddard. New York: Wilfred Funk. 395 pages. $3.

SIME SILVERMAN was a man to go up among the great one-man editors, of which there have not been many and of which there is none practising today, though there are an awful lot of editors. He saw there was a need for the kind of thing he wanted to do; he went to work and produced a magazine that was his own and nobody else's; and he made everybody else respect it, accept it, and pay for it.

He did not fall into the job, he did not buy it with a million dollars someone else had given him; but he made three million out of it and he made it always the job he had had in mind when he started it. No sell-out. Variety was started in 1905 and Sime Silverman died in 1933, but it is still his magazine, the one he made out of no literary education whatsoever, and made it stick. It was straight-out talk about the world of entertainment—show business—and although things have crept in that Sime himself would probably have blown out of the office, it is still straight talk about show business, and a thing many look to and some try without success to copy.

Dayton Stoddard's book is more on the personality and less on the mechanics of the journalism that Silverman, by hit and by miss and by a beautiful irreverence for what some theatre-arty might have blushed to see, created in the service of the amusement world. He reprints many "Sime" editorial comments and refers to this stunt or that; a change here, a new department there. A few of the Variety Muggs and their activities are basic in the story and there is a short (but good) section on the magazine's influence on general speech. But there is not enough of the growth of the magazine from within, the evolution of a bizarre style —very hep on the fast talk of the people who actually make shows run, very lame on the long words but innocently undismayed there too—the point-by-point establishment of coverage in each department, the system of spacing editorial and news matter, boxing little humor squibs, making departments out of trade gossip and tabulations of the turnover. It is a hard thing to do and make interesting, and of course Sime Silverman was a personality. His relations with his friends and the trade were a good part of the whole business. But he would not have been a personality if he had not become a powerful figure as an editor; and the editing is not brought in except in the personal terms of feuds, large decisions and the general policy.

Sime Silverman came from upstate New York to the city before he was twenty, but already he had had a taste of being one of the boys. He had been a prodigy at figures in business school and being a natural gambler he was able to put his talent to use figuring chances so well as to be made house dealer in the local poolroom game. All the years he was working as a bookkeeper in New York he was rolling around to the big cafés and gambling places in New York and Coney Island. Being a good fellow around town was very important to him, but the most important part of this even then was keeping up with the shows. Not the legitimate theatre (he never did get interested in that much), but the vaudeville houses, the old-time variety and burlesque. This aspect of show business became his first interest, outside of a family life which was irregular but none the less warm and always part of him: the folks, his two sisters, his wife and son, whom he seems to have idolized.

But he was already thirty-two before he broke away from business and took the plunge, borrowing $2,500 to start a little sheet that nobody thought would go. Variety was to be the first honest Broadway magazine, taking no bribes. It was a small magazine and it was usually no more than a hop ahead of the sheriff—in fact it gained in little but prestige for at least the first six years, and would have gone under long before then if Sime had not been such a tough and wily fighter. At first it was written in rather stiff English, almost without slang. But meanwhile the editor was drawing friends around him, becoming a known personality, and combing the town night after night, from closing time to three and four in the morning (up and to work again at seven), through the bars and show places and hangouts, talking the language—learning more ropes than there are on a full-rigged ship. And he let the breezy inside talk more and more into the pages. By now he knew all the vaudeville routines, all the acts by name, all the managers, bookers, agents, bartenders, headwaiters; he knew enough about the complications of the business to defy and outsmart the Shuberts and Albee himself when the time came.

He didn't care any more for pictures than for plays, but he was reviewing them and predicting for them in the nickelodeon days; and it was from the enormous revenues of pictures that he made his pile after 1918. As his magazine expanded, his staff expanded; but he still watched every detail like a hawk, wrote much himself, edited every line. That, you might think, would be a hard man to work for, an exacting and strong-headed man. It seems not to be what those who worked for or with him thought. He picked his men (he wouldn't even have a brilliant man around if he couldn't instinctively like him) and he looked out for them and was generous with them; and they stuck, some of them fanatical about it. He was generous but wise too: he knew the value of an easy-go dollar, and it was a nice combination of head and heart that made Sime an all-night walking bank and counsel, his office a headquarters for the needy, the act in trouble, the puzzled and ill used.

The high years were the late teens and twenties, when he was spending the $3,000,000 he was making, still fighting, still working like a beaver over Variety, but by now a fabulous figure in a fabulous place and period. His health gave out suddenly and he died, having spent the millions right up to date; but he had left his son in charge of his million-dollar property, and he left a name they still reprint now and then just as he signed it to an editorial, needing no more than that for its identification among show people: Sime.

"Lord Broadway" will probably remain definitive, for Mr. Stoddard is an expert in a field where few writers are equipped for research, and few who have the knowledge are equipped for writing. The book is pretty uneven, though it has a warmth of personal appreciation that comes through strongly, and it gives a knowing picture of the little known, of what is already passing into the confusion and blur of legend. It is good for reading. But it is best for its true story of a man who was admirable and at the same time important to and loved in his world.

OTIS FERGUSON

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China Station

Of Men and Women, by Pearl S. Buck. New York: The John Day Company. 203 pages. $2.
Dawn Watch in China, by Joy Homer. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 340 pages. $3.

"OF MEN AND WOMEN" is Mrs. Buck's third volume dealing with the American scene. It is not a novel, but a stimulating essay inquiring "into the basic scheme of American living." During her seven years of residence in the United States, she has been struck by the contrast between the relationship of men and women in China, and in America. She describes the home in these two countries and examines monogamy and polygamy as the two differing forms of marriage. She asks "Why do so many American women seem not happy in being women when they have the freedom to make what they will of themselves? . . . Which is the best life for men and women, that in a patterned society such as old China had and in another sense as modern Germany has today, or the complete freedom which a true democracy alone can give?" Her conclusion is "that happiness for men and women is in the greatest freedom for both that is consistent with equal opportunity." She warns against fascism and declares that "when woman goes back to medievalism she never goes back alone. She always takes man back with her." There is also a good chapter on Women and War.

Mrs. Buck's criticisms of American women are very much to the point, especially those directed against the idle, dissatisfied, privileged "gunpowder" variety, that may well provide a field for fascism in this country. It could be argued, however, that American women generally have not so much privilege and freedom of choice as Mrs. Buck appears to think. How can idle women "choose" to work or build a career when millions of men are also unemployed and cannot earn a living? The problem of the status of women and of unsuccessful marriages is fundamentally a part of the whole problem of national economic readjustment.

"Dawn Watch in China" is a charmingly written travel narrative of a year's trip through the interior of China. Joy Homer, the twenty-three-year-old daughter of the famous Louise Homer, left the United States in the fall of 1938, commissioned by the Church Committee for China Relief to investigate and report on conditions in China. She made an amazing journey through both the occupied and unoccupied areas, from Nanking and Peking to Chungking and Yenan.

The author is a vivacious, energetic type of American girl, with a sense of humor and a tremendous amount of courage and daring. Nearly every page records some exciting adventure or misadventure along the way—air bombing, guerilla fights, transportation difficulties. She did not mind the dirt and inconvenience, liked the Chinese and returned enthusiastic about the whole country. She is lyrical about General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, which leads to rather curious and naïve remarks, such as the following: "It may be stated with absolute certainty that he has no love of personal power."

Miss Homer is as audacious in her general statements as in her adventuring, and the general picture she paints is much too optimistic and romanticized. Yet the important thing is that this was her dominant impression, and errors of fact and interpretation in the book do not invalidate its great usefulness as a record of personal experience and observation in wartime China. If China is not so beautifully democratic and unified, and some of her officials not so selfless and honest, as Miss Homer imagines, she is entirely right in believing that "strongest of all China's weapons today is the spirit and fire within her people."

NYM WALES

Unsung Troubadour

Carl Sandburg, by Karl Detzer. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 210 pages. $2.

THIS SHORT BIOGRAPHY of Carl Sandburg will have to do until another comes along; and the next one, by anybody who goes at the job with some thought and care, should be a lot better. For some reason the kindliest and most attractive figure among American writers has reached the age of sixty-three with no more than this brief account to detail his life and work. Mr. Detzer's piece is honest enough and (except for the jacket promise) doesn't pretend to be more than it is; but when that is said, the reader is still left with something that the average feature writer could have whacked off in a forty-hour week.

Sandburg's life has been singularly rich in the kind of experience that no hurry-up chronology can suggest: small people intimately seen and their idiom lovingly noted; the dogged pursuit of an old tune, having heard a couple of bars whistled, and the rich lore that unexpectedly pops up during the search; the thousand insights that can be gotten in any one day, anywhere, by anyone who cares to watch people and has an ear for the things they say and an inner ear for the things felt but left unsaid. To see and hear Sandburg on the platform is to know instantly how much of this kind of experience and long musing on it has gone into his poetry and even into his Lincoln. The thousands who have seen and heard him, know him without benefit of biography and understand nearly everything in his poetry without benefit of criticism. He is that kind of man and that kind of poet. And Sandburg's story, to be in any deep sense revealing, will have to come as autobiography.

The specific data (places lived, jobs held, things written and the where and when for all these) is sparse enough as given here, but there is nothing else anywhere near so informative. One would like to know more about Sandburg's experience and feelings as a private in the Spanish-American War, why he quit college in his final year after working like a beaver to stay as long as he did, what caused him to leave Hearst after a few weeks and what led to his break with The Chicago Daily News in 1932. Mr. Detzer could not fairly be expected to supply this kind of information, especially since one detects some reluctance on Sandburg's part to stud the interviews with solid fact. A more serious shortcoming is the failure successfully to relate Sandburg to his time and environment, and to suggest a critical approach to his work. Nothing in these 200 pages fulfills this last essential with half the penetration of Newton Arvin's nine-page essay on Sandburg in "After the Genteel Tradition."

MAX GISSEN

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The Fourth Estate

American Journalism, by Frank Luther Mott. New York: The Macmillan Company. 772 pages. $5.50.

IN ATTEMPTING this "history of newspapers in the United States through 250 years, 1690-1940," Dr. Mott obviously set for himself a task of almost staggering proportions. The field is vast, the sources not always reliable, and the interpretations necessarily varied and complex. In general, it would appear that he has carried out his assignment successfully. This big, careful book is the only volume in existence which even attempts to cover the ground, and no doubt it will remain a standard work for many a day.

Dr. Mott begins at the beginning and traces the growth of American journalism up to its present state—whatever that may be. Indeed, he is somewhat more detailed in his examination of the newspapers of long ago than he is of the modern press. Here one may find what might be expected: the early battles for the freedom of the press, the growth of political organs, the development of the "news newspaper" by the elder Bennett, mechanical improvements, circulation struggles, mechanical processes, the treatment of the news of wars and great political upheavals, and so on.

The author admits to a "sympathetic admiration" for the American press, but he also warns against generalizations, and agrees that there have been plenty of precious scoundrels among the powerful names in our journalistic history. Rarely does he attempt to treat fully the personalities, good or bad, which have had the major share in shaping American newspapers, but he does offer short characterizations of many of them. There are discussions, perhaps adequate for his purposes, of such giants as Pulitzer, the Bennetts, Hearst, Dana, and Medill. He gives glimpses of the history of newspapers in various sections of the country. His primary interest is not with personalities, or with anecdote, but with giving a factual summary of what has happened. Only occasionally does he go behind the surface. It may be slightly unfair, in the face of the clear fact that this is a highly worthwhile history, to point out a few shortcomings, but nevertheless here they are:

He refers to certain magazines as having had an important influence on the daily press, its methods and its attitudes. In this connection he mentions Time, but he gives no space to the influence, undoubtedly great, of The New Yorker and Mencken's American Mercury. He omits the names of many individuals who have had a powerful influence, and he gives others only brief mention. His discussion of newspaper business methods would seem to be wholly inadequate. In discussing sports news, comics, and the handling of news of the arts, he is content with the most sketchy resumé. On such matters as libel, ethics and the occasional venality of publishers, he has little to say that is revealing. His discussion of the Newspaper Guild gets practically nowhere. His treatment of the whole history of journalistic trends for the last twenty-five years is sadly lacking in completeness and penetration.

And yet (and make no mistake about this) Dr. Mott has turned out quite a book. It is worth the attention, nothwithstanding its defects, of anyone in or out of journalism who may wonder about this eternally fascinating and everlastingly disputed field.

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A Reader's List

LAST MAN AROUND THE WORLD, by Stephen Longstreet (Random House, $3). Journal of a tour round the globe, offhand in manner and intriguing in entirety. Mr. Longstreet, lucky guy, set out in '39, and he conveys admirably the jitters of a world waiting for hell to break loose. A nerve-racking side trip through Manchuria adds the Hitchcock note. *Illustrations by the author, like his prose,* are succinct and effective.

A WOMAN IS WITNESS, by Ernst Lothar (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50). A novel about a Viennese refugee in France, based on a young girl's diary. The story, which mixes somewhat freely politics, adolescent heart-throbs, and love, describes life in Paris from the time of Munich up to the German occupation. Not very deep, but somewhat entertaining.

Four Books About Vermont

THE RELUCTANT REPUBLIC, by Frederic F. Van De Water (John Day, $3). A glib, running account of Vermont's infancy from its settlement to statehood. This rewrite of secondary material should by no means be confused with history; but Mr. Van De Water, who has staked off Vermont and made it pay in books, provides a shrewd, readable footnote to sounder, but duller, stuff.

STAGECOACH NORTH, by W. Storrs Lee (Macmillan, $2). Here is more authentic material and every bit as readable. Life in Middlebury, Vermont, a century ago as reconstructed from original sources. What folks ate and how it was prepared, their politics, religion, entertainment and education. Fascinating stuff and much too short.

NOT WITHOUT PERIL, by Marguerite Allis (Putnam's, $2.50). This, if one may still dare to recommend a historical novel, is clearly one of the better ones. The life of the Connecticut River Valley settlements is handled with naturalness by a writer who knows her material; the heroine's life of incredible toil and near-maddening adventure runs a course that is quite free from the ridiculous plot somersaults the genre seems to demand.

THAT WAS ALDERBURY, by R. L. Duffus (Macmillan, $2.50). Mr. Duffus, like many another before him, persists in squinting back at small-town boyhoods through rose-colored glasses. Our author is no Mark Twain, but his kids have fun and so does the reader, especially if he's an old Alderbury man himself.

Contributors

A. G. Hart is associate professor of Economics at Iowa State College and the author of many pamphlets and monographs on economics.

John Scott was for the past two years the Moscow correspondent of The London News-Chronicle. He was expelled by the Russian government because of censorship difficulties two weeks before war broke out.

F. O. Matthiessen is professor of History and Literature at Harvard University and the author, among other books, of "American Renaissance."

Nym Wales is the author of "Inside Red China," published by Doubleday, Doran. She is the wife of Edgar Snow.

Max Gissen left a Vermont law office several years ago to come to New York. He is a frequent contributor of articles and reviews to The New Republic.

Stanley Walker has been an editorial writer for The New York Herald Tribune and has worked on many other newspapers.

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